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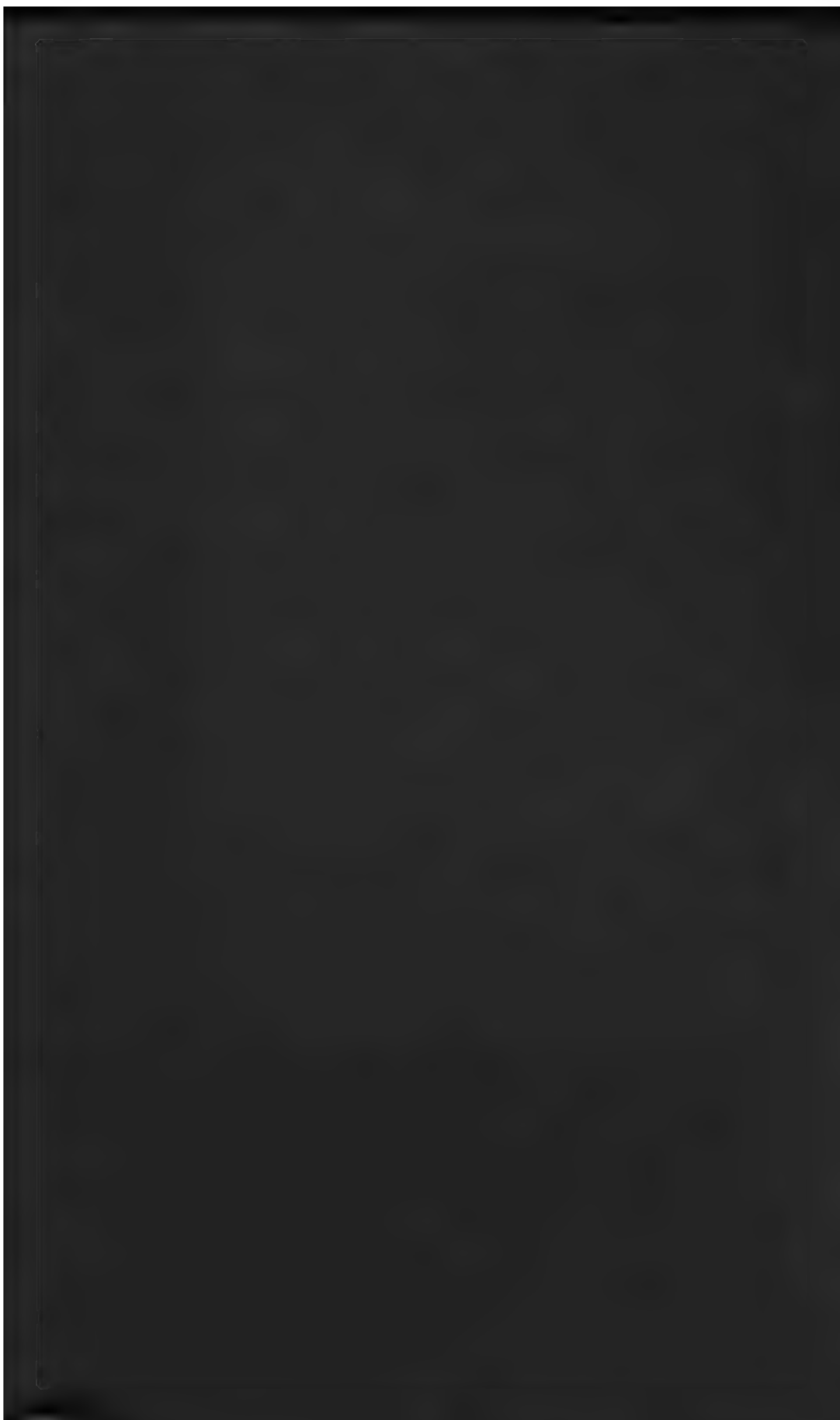
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A HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES
AND ITS PEOPLE





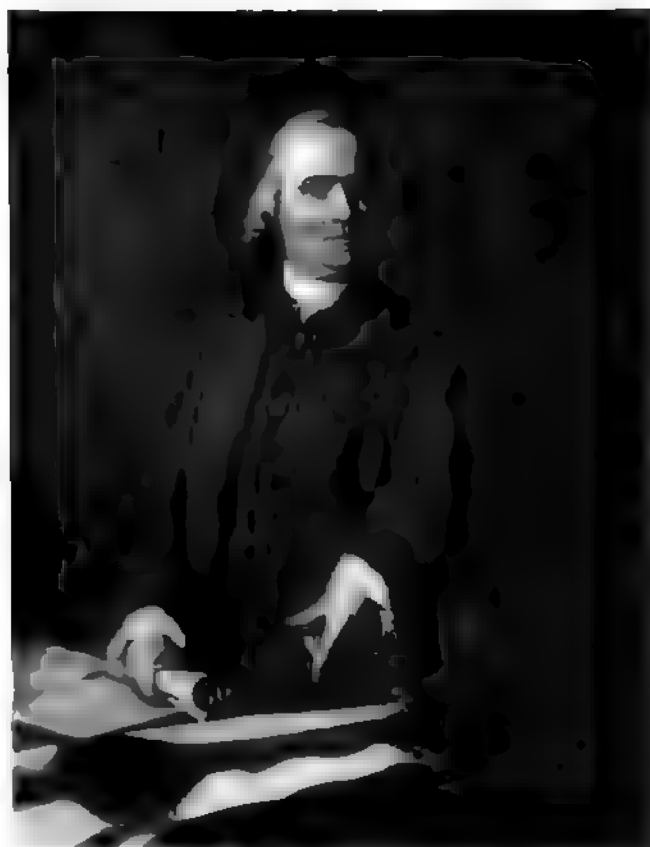




A History of
the United States



VOLUME V



Samuel Adams

A HISTORY OF UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

FROM THEIR FIRST SETTLEMENT

TO THE PRESENT
Portrait of
Samuel Adams

*From original oil painting
from life by John Singleton Copley.*

*now owned by the city of Boston
and deposited in the*
EUROPEAN MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
Museum of Fine Arts

A SIXTH EDITION

*Signature from an autograph
letter in the New York Pub-
lic Library. Emmet Collec-*

CLINTON
THE BURROUSE
COMMITTEE



A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS PEOPLE

FROM THEIR EARLIEST RECORDS TO
THE PRESENT TIME

BY

ELROY MCKENDREE AVERY

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES
VOLUME V



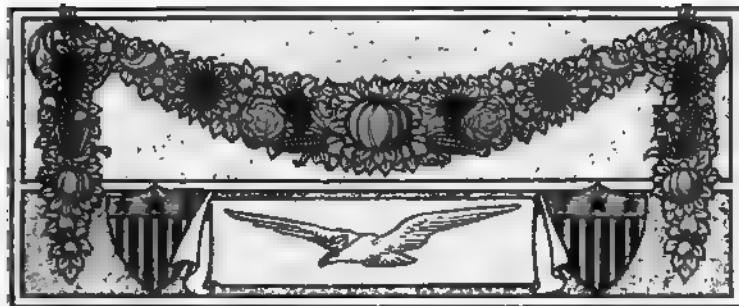
CLEVELAND
THE BURROWS BROTHERS
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P R E F A C E

THE fourth volume of this work had to do largely with the elimination of France from America. The French and Indian war had given English colonists a military training and made them conscious of their strength. In the glory of the final triumph they had a pride not less than that of Englishmen across the sea. But the issue of that war had cleared away the menace of traditional enemies at the door and made possible a close and quick consideration of economic and political grievances that had been ill-borne at best and that were now extended and intensified by new conditions born of the supreme struggle of insular and continental England.

The next issue was to be one of constitutional government, an issue that was pivoted on the question of how far English laws were binding on those who had no share in making them. To the consideration of this question, as solved in the dozen years that filled the gap between the peace of Paris and the declaration of American independence, this volume is devoted.

My obligation to Dr. Paul L. Haworth, as acknowledged in the preface to my fourth volume, has been enlarged by his assistance in the preparation of the fifth. I am also deeply indebted to Professor William MacDonald of Brown University for valuable help. For the many friendly suggestions that I have received and for the continued approval of readers and reviewers, I am grateful.

ELROY M. AVERY

Cleveland, January, 1908



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This is the well-known Copley portrait, deposited by the city of Boston in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Reproduced in colors in close facsimile of the original painting.

Autograph:

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a century and a quarter hung on the walls of Howick House, the home of the Greys. On the bi-centennial of Franklin's birth in 1906, the governor-general of Canada, Albert Henry George, fourth Earl Grey and a great-grandson of Sir Charles Grey, most graciously restored this portrait of Franklin, as a gift in commemoration of the occasion, to the American nation. This portrait was regarded by Franklin as a very excellent likeness and this fact, in connection with the circumstances of its capture and return, endow it with greatest interest. The canvas measures 24 x 59 inches.

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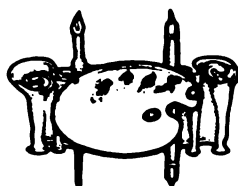
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A History of the United States
and its People

THE COLONIES: 1764-1775;
THE REVOLUTION TO THE DECLARATION
OF INDEPENDENCE



C H A P T E R I

FOR THE BUILDING OF A NATION

AT the close of the French and Indian War, the population of the colonies that were to constitute a new nation amounted to perhaps seventeen or eighteen hundred thousand. This population was almost wholly confined to the narrow strip of land between the Atlantic and the Alleghenies. With the exception of a few posts, such as Natchez, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, Detroit, and Pittsburg, etc., the vast region west of the mountains was an unbroken wilderness.

1 7 6 3
Population

Small as was the population of the colonies, it was far from being homogeneous. Perhaps one-fifth of all were negroes, the larger part of whom were in the colonies south of Pennsylvania. Dutch, Germans, Scotch-Irish, Scotch Highlanders, and French Huguenots made up so large a part of the remaining population that the Americans were even then a distinct people from the English. Mr. Roosevelt, himself of Dutch descent, says that probably not much over half the blood was English. Of all the sections, New England was most purely English; leaving out of account the negroes, the South came next. The middle colonies, and especially New York and Pennsylvania, were least so. New York City was already a veritable Babel; it is said that twenty years before it was taken from the Dutch no fewer than eighteen languages were spoken there.

The
Columbian
Blend

The population was almost entirely rural. Philadelphia, the metropolis, was a beautiful and attractive city

Distribution

straggling village with sandy, unpaved streets and about two hundred houses, "somewhat overweighted with the public buildings and those of the college."

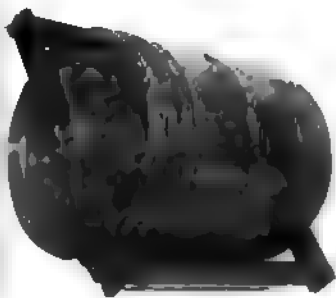


The Mansion at Westover, Virginia

In the North, and especially in New England where most of the soil was thin and poor, large estates were exceptional, although the patroon system still existed in



Sketch showing Method of Using Tobacco Roller

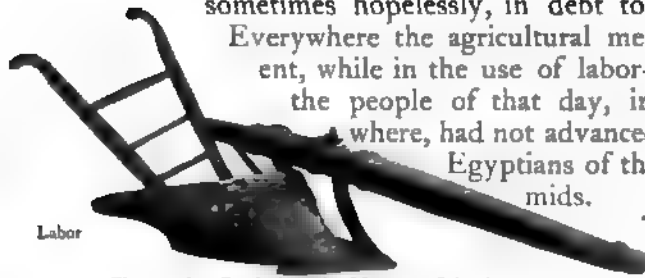


A Tobacco Roller

New York. In this section, farming was far more diversified than in the South, where tobacco, rice, and indigo

1763 were the great staples. In Virginia, great plantations were the rule, though there were many small farms. The lordly planter generally lived in a lordly mansion, situated by the side of some navigable stream and surrounded by numerous outbuildings and negro cabins. To the wharf of such a plantation once a year an English tobacco-ship came to leave a varied assortment of goods that had been ordered months before and to take away the season's surplus crop. As a rule, the planter was not a good business man, and ordinarily he was badly, sometimes hopelessly, in debt to English creditors.

Everywhere the agricultural methods were indifferent, while in the use of labor-saving implements the people of that day, in America as elsewhere, had not advanced much beyond the Egyptians of the time of the pyramids.



Plow used at Boxford on the Morning of April 19, 1775

and the middle colonies, the farmer depended, in the main, upon his own work and that of his sons; hired labor was scarce and, north of Maryland, slaves were few. Indentured servants were, however, numerous in some of the colonies, especially in Maryland and Virginia. In April, 1775, Washington proclaimed, in the *Virginia Gazette*, a reward for two Scotch serving-men who had just absconded from Mount Vernon. Many redemptioners, persons who had sold their services to

The labor system varied greatly. In New England

pay their passage over sea, after the expiration of their terms of service, became useful and substantial citizens; but some of them, together with the free negroes and a majority of those who had been deported for crime, formed "the scum of society." In the South, negro



Ax, used about 1750

slaves performed most of the hard labor; in South Carolina, they considerably exceeded the whites in number and their condition was ordinarily worse than was that of slaves in Virginia, Maryland, and the colonies further north. 1 7 6 3

Slavery was generally regarded as a praiseworthy institution, although the leaven of emancipation had begun to work. As early as 1637, Roger Williams had asked whether, after "a due time of trayning to labour and restraint, they ought not to be set free?" In 1688, the Germantown Friends, as already recorded, presented their famous petition against the institution. Twelve years later, Samuel Sewall, in a tract called *The Selling of Joseph*, denounced slavery and the slave trade in vigorous terms. He said: "These *Ethiopians*, as black as they are; seeing they are the Sons and Daughters of the First Adam, the Brethren and Sisters of the Last ADAM, and the offspring of GOD; They ought to be treated with a Respect agreeable." By 1750, "professional anti-slavery agitators like John Woolman and Benezet" were at work in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. In 1758, the Friends' yearly meeting at Philadelphia ordered that members were to set their slaves "at liberty, making Christian provision for them." In 1776, the society directed the monthly meetings to exclude from membership all who refused to comply with the order.

In a new country, where fertile land is easily obtainable Manufactures

FIVE POUNDS REWARD.

RAN away from the subscriber, living in Shepherd's Town, some time in October last, a Mulatto BOY named TOBY, about 14 years of age, and has a scar on the right side of his throat—[had on, when he went away, an old brown jacket, now shirt and check trousers, which are supposed to be worn out by this time.—Whoever takes up the said Mulatto, and secures him in any goal, so that his master may have him again, shall receive the above reward, from

JOHN CLAWSON,
N. B. All masters of vessels are forewarned not to take him off at their peril.

In the Ship Nancy, Capt. Burrow, arrived at Baltimore, a Cargo of

Coarse Salt,

TO BE SOLD, on REASONABLE TERMS, by
JOHN STEVENSON.

Advertisement for a Runaway Slave

Clock Manufactury

SIMON WILLARD,

AT his CLOCK DIAZ, in ROXBURY

Street, manufactures every kind of CLOCK WORK, such as large
Clocks for Churches, made in the best manner, and warranted, 2
with one dial, 500 dollars, with two dials, 600 dollars, 7 with three
dials, 700 dollars, with four dials, 800 dollars. — Clocks of great size
Clocks with very elegant faces and mahogany cases, price from 200 to
400 dollars. — Large right day Time pieces, price 30 dollars. — Time
pieces which go 12 days, and warranted, price 30 dollars. — Spring
Clocks of all kinds, price from 50 to 60 dollars. — Clocks that will run
one year, without winding up, with very elegant cases, price 100 dollars.
— Time pieces for Astronomical purposes, price 70 dollars. — Time
pieces for meeting houses, to place before the gallery, with neat enameled
dials, price 25 dollars. — Clocks that will play 8 tunes,
price 120 dollars. — Persons who are attended at said place, which
can be attended in any kind of wheel carriage, and will sell the dial
and add extra price 15 dollars.

GENTLEMEN who wish to purchase any kind of Clock, or
other kind of Clock Manufacture, will be
satisfied to know, that it is much cheaper to purchase of
him, than of any other person. He warrants all his work, and will
satisfy the public of receiving the public of his satisfaction.

DIRECTIONS TO SET CLOCKS IN MOTION

First place the Clock perpendicular, then take it with your hands, pull it
towards the pendulum and pulley, then hang on the weights, the heavy one on the right side.
— You need not wind up any until the Clock is in motion. — You may stop the
the right hour, by moving the minute hand forward or backward. — The
Moon wheel is fixed right by moving them with your hands. — You may
up to make the Clock go faster, and down to go slower.

PRINTED BY T. THOMAS, JUNR. — Worcester.

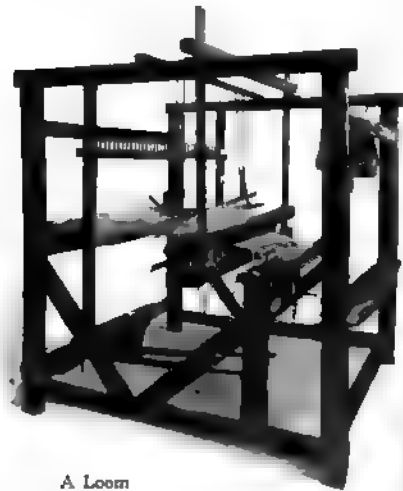
and the supply of labor is consequently scanty, manufacturing is likely to languish. So it was in the colonies. 1 7 6 3

Still, a great many articles that now are ordinarily purchased were then made at home. The northern farm was almost as self-sufficient as was the mediæval manor. Many families produced all the clothing, furniture, etc., that they used. In short, the man of that day was a jack-

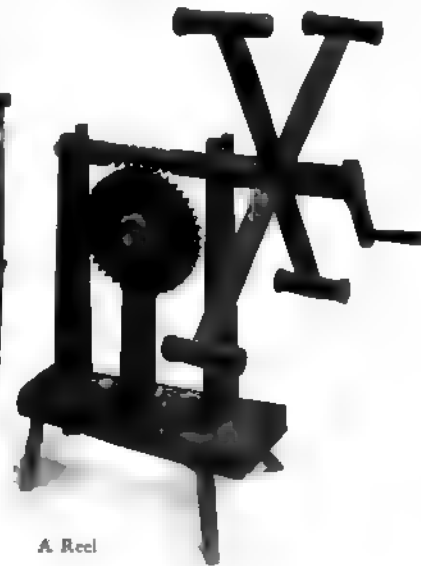


A Boy's Shoe, worn previous to the Revolution

of-all-trades who could turn his hand to almost anything,

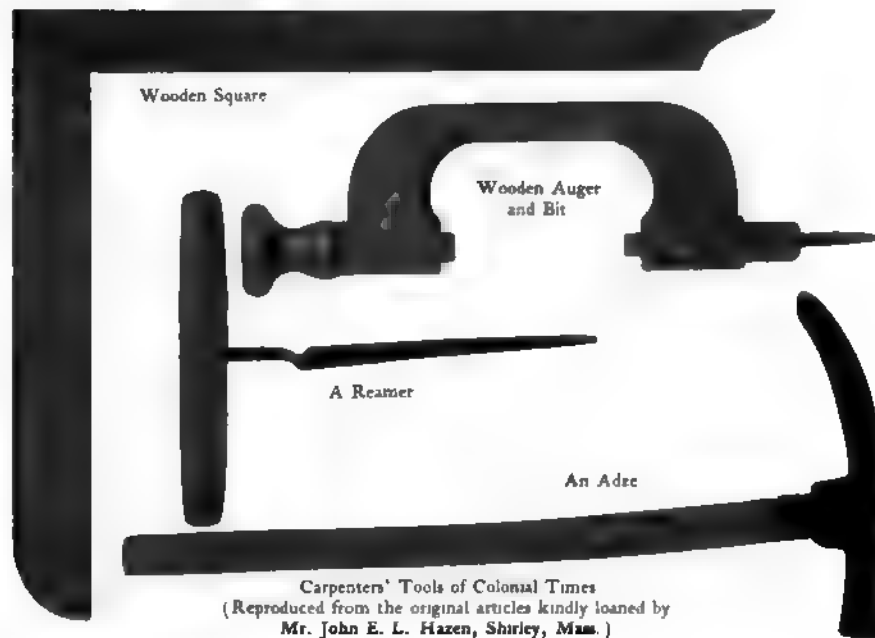


A Loom



A Reel

from making a wooden rake to building a house. Despite repressive English legislation and the dearth of labor, there was, especially in the North, considerable manufacturing on the larger scale. Thus there were fulling-mills in several of the colonies, and iron-works were in existence in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and elsewhere. Burnaby tells us that, in 1758, sixty thousand dozen pairs of thread stockings, worth a dollar a pair, were made at Germantown. The distillation of rum from West India



Carpenters' Tools of Colonial Times
(Reproduced from the original articles kindly loaned by
Mr. John E. L. Hazen, Shirley, Mass.)

1763 molasses was an important New England industry, as will be more fully explained a few pages further on. There were perhaps fifty colonial printing-presses, and the production of naval stores, leather, and other articles gave employment to many.

Ship-building Of all manufactures, however, ship-building was perhaps the most important. In 1769, three hundred and eighty-nine vessels of an aggregate of twenty thousand tons burden were launched. Of this number, Massachusetts built one hundred and thirty-seven; Connecticut, fifty; New Hampshire, forty-five; Rhode Island, thirty-nine; Virginia, twenty-seven; Pennsylvania, twenty-two; Maryland, twenty; and New York, nineteen. It was generally remarked, however, that American vessels did not last as long as did those built in Europe. For this, two reasons were assigned: one was that American timber was naturally less durable than European; the other, that the spirit of haste, even then noticeable in America, did not allow sufficient time for the timber to become seasoned.

Of the few existing professions, some were in a lament- 1 7 6 3
able state. The physician's professional education was Physicians
usually meager, and frequently consisted of a short
apprenticeship with some established practitioner. There



Tooth Extractor

Surgeon's Saw

was no medical college in the colonies before 1765, but
a few students went abroad to study at Edinburgh or
elsewhere. Elson tells us that "the practice of blood-
letting for almost any disease was universal; and if the
physician was not at hand, this was done by the barber,
the clergyman, or any medical amateur. The drugs were
few, and their rightful use was little known. Saint John's-
wort was taken as a cure for many ills, for madness, and
to drive away devils. A popular medicine was composed
of toads burned to a
crisp and powdered,
then taken in small
doses for diseases of
the blood. . . .

In addition to the reg-
ular physicians there
were many quacks who
hawked their Indian
medicines and special
cures about the coun-
try; but these were not
peculiar to colonial
times." We wonder
at this a little less when
we understand that, for
a hundred years, Har-
vard and Yale had existed essentially to train clergymen
and that the departments of medicine in those colleges



Saddle Bags in which Mrs. Ruth Perley Curtis of Boxford carried
Food and Powder to her Husband, Lieutenant John
Curtis, fighting at Bunker Hill

1763 came up at first as collateral affairs. During the long-continued reign of the clergy, the ministers were the physicians of their parishes.

Lawyers



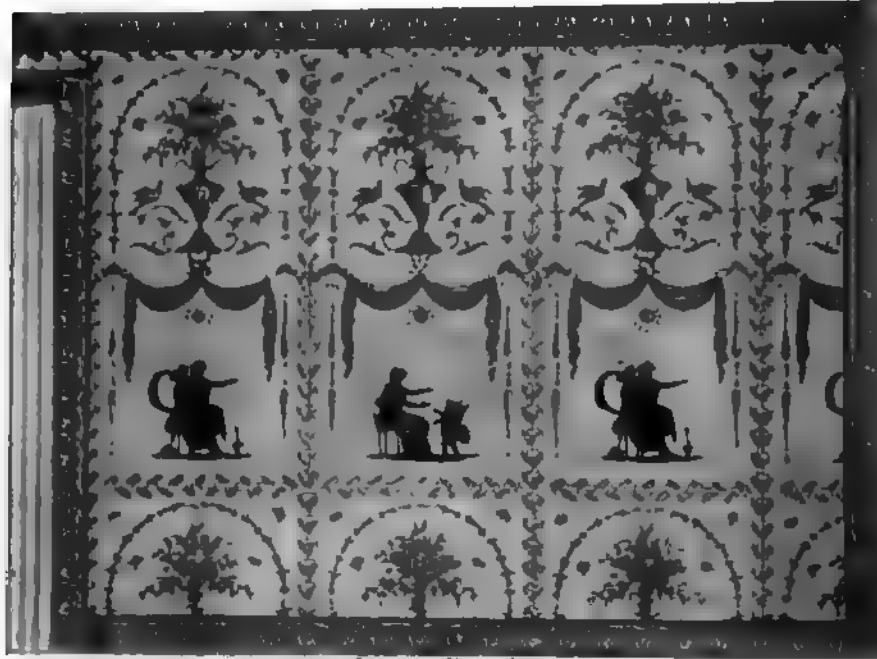
Watch and Chain once worn by John Gedney Clark

The law as a profession had long been looked upon with disfavor; the ministers were always welcome as attorneys. During the reign of the New England clergy, they not only argued cases but also acted as judges; Colonel Higginson tells us that they "would boldly go into lawsuits in progress, observe what was going on, and if they were not pleased with the judge's decision would overrule it. If they did not like the examination of the witnesses they would examine them themselves; if they did not like the action of the jury they would overrule it and pronounce the verdict themselves." Samuel Sewall, a man of eminent ability and sterling character, one of the judges during the witchcraft cases at Salem and later chief-justice of Massachusetts for a decade, had studied divinity and "might either be regarded as something of a clergyman veneered over with a little law, or something of a lawyer veneered over with a good deal of clergy." For years after the entry of the eighteenth century there was no required preparation or examination for the practice of the law. When John



Spectacles and Case of Colonial Times

Adams of Braintree, after graduation at Harvard, sought the hand of Abigail Smith, the paternal Smith, a clergyman, made opposition largely on the ground that the suitor was a lawyer. But, in the second half of the century, the influence and importance of the law developed with great rapidity. It was remarked that the increase in the numbers and importance of the legal class was the



Old Wall Paper at the Quincy Mansion

most marked tendency of New England life. The same was true, possibly in less degree, in the other colonies. In New York, the lawyers managed to control the politics of the colony. Some years later, Burke stated in his speech on conciliation that an English publisher had told him "that in no other branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations."

Notwithstanding the interest renewed by the "Great Awakening," religion occupied less of the attention of the

The Clergy

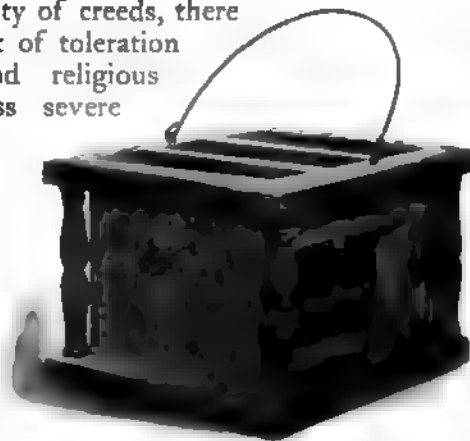
1763 people than in the preceding century. In New England, there was still an austerity of manner and belief that was hardly exceeded in Scotland, and the people continued, as a rule, to be "strictly Sabbatarian, rigidly



Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg, Virginia

orthodox, averse to extravagance, to gambling, and to effeminate amusements;" but the rigor of the Puritan theology had been relaxed. "A greater variety of people came as settlers, with different opinions, a greater variety of saints, and a tolerable variety of sinners." The ministers, some of whom were learned in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, were still the leaders of the people and dreaded papacy and episcopacy as much as ever, but, in many respects, they were more liberal than their predecessors. In the middle colonies, owing in part to the great diversity of creeds, there was a broader spirit of toleration than elsewhere and religious orthodoxy was less severe than in New England. In New York and in all the southern colonies excepting Georgia, the Anglican church was recognized by law as the state church, but the greater part of the population

orthodox, averse to extravagance, to gambling, and to effeminate amusements;" but the rigor of the Puritan theology had been relaxed. "A greater variety of people came as settlers, with different opinions, a greater variety of saints, and a tolerable variety of sinners." The ministers, some of whom were learned in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, were still the leaders of the



Foot Stove

belonged to other denominations. In South Carolina, the Episcopal clergy were men of zeal and character, but in Maryland and Virginia especially they were, in learning, piety, and morality, inferior to the clergy of New England.

In Virginia, "they ranged from hedge

Warming Pan

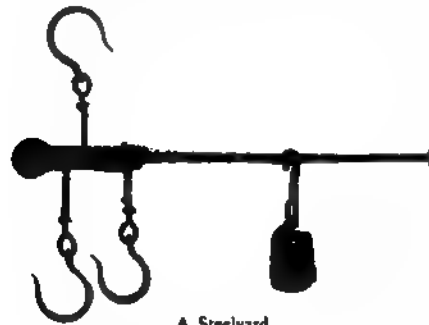
parsons and fleet chaplains, who had shrunk away from England to find a desirable obscurity in the new world, to divines of real learning and genuine piety, who were the supporters of the college, and who would have been a credit to any society." Many of them were men who "worked their own lands, sold tobacco, were the boon companions of the planters, hunted, shot, drank hard, and lived well, performing their sacred duties in a perfunctory and not always in a decent manner." The established clergy in Maryland appear to have been no better.

The fisheries gave employment to many and formed an unexcelled school for seamen. "Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise," said Burke in 1775, "ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy enterprise to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent People." The opening of waters previously controlled by the French greatly stimulated the whale-fishery, and, in 1763, Massachusetts sent out eighty vessels or more. The mackerel and codfisheries were still more important. In 1763, the three hundred Massachusetts vessels engaged in cod-fishing took 102,265 quintals of merchantable cod, worth about 61,359 pounds, and 137,794 quintals of unmerchantable cod (known as "West India Cod" because it could be sold in the West Indies), worth about 62,007 pounds. The ninety mackerel vessels sent out by the same colony took 18,000 barrels, worth about 16,200 pounds. In the same year, the colony also exported about 10,000 barrels of "shad, alewives, and other pickled fish," worth about 5,000 pounds. In the following year, New England employed more than forty-five thousand tons of

1763 shipping and about six thousand men in the various fisheries.

Commerce

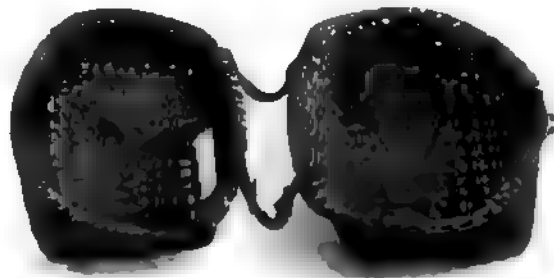
In spite of the annoying navigation laws, the effect of which has been considered, commerce and trade, foreign and domestic, had assumed important proportions. The



A Steelyard

fur trade with the Indians gave employment to many bold and hardy, and to some not over-scrupulous men, and was very profitable. The coast-wise trade was still more important. The chief exports were tobacco, rice, indigo,

flour, and various other agricultural products, fish, timber, vessels, furs, whale-oil and whalebone, and naval stores. For ten years preceding 1770, the average value of the exports of Maryland and Virginia was more than one-third greater than that of the united exports of New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Among the chief imports were textiles, wines, iron and steel goods, furniture, spices, books, tea, and coffee. After about 1735, the much magnified "balance of trade" was always against the colonies. Philadelphia, New York, and the New England ports were the chief centers of the carrying trade. The West India market was of the highest importance and



Old Panniers

the prohibitive duties of the molasses act of 1733 were systematically evaded; in 1763, of the fifteen thousand

hogsheads of molasses imported into Massachusetts from the West Indies only five hundred came from the British islands. From this molasses was distilled the chief medium of the African slave-trade, a nefarious traffic that had attained huge proportions. Sloops from Boston, Newport, and Bristol sailed for the Gold Coast laden with hogsheads of rum. There the rum was exchanged for negroes, or, perchance, for gold. The wretched human freight was carried to the West Indies and there traded for sugar and molasses, or to Virginia where negroes brought a good price in tobacco. Either cargo could be disposed of to advantage on returning to the home port. The profits of this triangular traffic were enormous. "A slave purchased for one hundred gallons of rum, worth ten pounds, brought from twenty pounds to fifty pounds when offered for sale in America. Newport could not, with her twenty-two stillhouses, manufacture enough to meet the demand."

Trade was greatly embarrassed by unsatisfactory currency conditions. As the balance of trade was against the colonies and as they had no gold or silver mines of importance, the total amount of hard money in America was small. Even that little consisted of various sorts, the ordinary English coins, pieces of eight, moidores, doubloons, double johannes, etc., most of them badly clipped and mutilated. A system of barter was ordinarily employed in the Indian trade, and, to a lesser extent, in the domestic trade, but in all the colonies paper money had been issued, much of it in disregard of parliamentary prohibition. In accordance with a well-known economic law, this paper money drove coin practically out of circulation. Burnaby says that, in 1760, the paper currency of New Jersey was "at about 70 per cent. discount, but in very good repute; and preferred by the Pennsylvanians and New Yorkers to that of their own provinces." In the same year, he found the difference of exchange between paper money and hard money in Rhode Island, long a stronghold of fiat money, to be at least twenty-five hundred per cent.

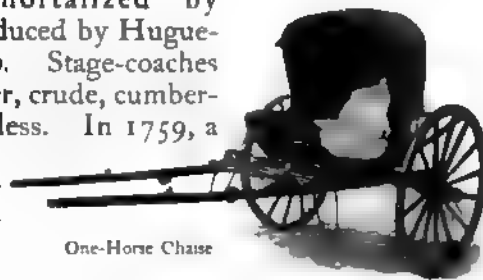
1763 Domestic trade was also greatly hampered by primitive methods of transportation and communication.



Conestoga Wagon

Wherever possible, freight and passengers were carried by water, but canals had not yet been built and such transportation had close limits. Packhorses were much used in the back country and in the Indian trade,

and the famous Conestoga wagon was coming into use in Pennsylvania. Traveling was largely done on horseback. "A farmer went to church astride a horse, with his wife sitting behind him on a cushion called a pillion; while the young people walked, stopping to change their shoes before reaching the meetinghouse." The roads, where there were roads, were usually bad; bridges were almost unknown. In 1761, only thirty-eight private citizens in Philadelphia kept coaches or carriages. A vehicle known as a chariot was used in some localities by the very rich. The French chaise, Americanized into the "shay" and immortalized by Holmes, was introduced by Huguenots before 1700. Stage-coaches were few in number, crude, cumbersome, and comfortless. In 1759, a line of "Stage Waggon" without springs made the trip from New York to Philadelphia and return twice a week and covered the distance in about three days—a trip that may now be made in less than two hours.



One-Horse Chaise

Taverns

Owing largely to the means of travel, inns and taverns, with fanciful names and pictured signs, occupied a more

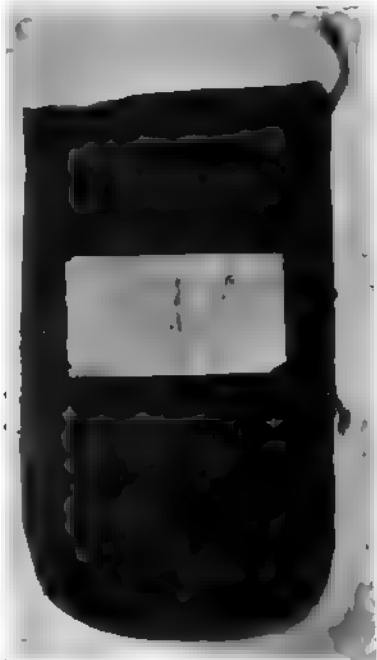
ered in the city of New York in a single day. News 1763 traveled very slowly. It took nineteen days to carry the Lexington and Concord story to Savannah.

Of course, there were great differences in social conditions and methods of living. Some of the very wealthy lived in stately mansions and made a brave display of fine furniture, plate, and china, had many



Wanton

Joseph Wanton, the Tory Governor of Rhode Island



Leather Mail Bag, carried between Hartford, Middletown, and New Haven, in 1775

liveried servants, kept London-made coaches and chariots, dressed magnificently in silks and satins, and created a fair imitation of English "society." Still their luxury fell far below the luxury of to-day; even the richest did not enjoy many of what are now regarded as necessities of life. Most of those who lived on the border, and much of the country was border, as well as many

Social Life

1 7 6 3 who lived elsewhere, dwelt in log cabins, dressed in buckskin and homespun, lived on a rude plenty of game and "hog and hominy," and enjoyed such relaxations as log-rollings, husking-bees, and shooting-matches.



A Fire Bucket



John Hancock's Double Chair

The great mass of the people were neither rich nor poor, and lived sober, industrious, laborious lives. In New England and in the middle colonies, even the men who had acquired wealth usually kept themselves in the working class. In the South, however, the well-to-do led easier lives and devoted more time to social functions and to such sports as cock-fighting, fox-hunting, fishing, shooting, and horse-racing. In reply to a question as to how the Virginia planters of the old régime spent their time, Thomas Jefferson once said: "My father had a devoted friend, to whose house he would go, dine, spend the night, dine with him again on the second day, and return to Shadwell in the evening. His friend, in the course of a day or two, returned the visit and spent the same length of time at his house. This occurred every week; and thus, you see, they were together four days out of the seven." With their household duties and the care of numerous



A Lamp used about 1775



An Old-time Umbrella

slaves, the women of the South worked "much harder and more steadily than their lords and master ever thought of doing."



Old Kettle or Dutch Oven

Neither socially nor politically was America democratic. In all the colonies, the suffrage was limited by property tests, and, in some of



Candle Mould

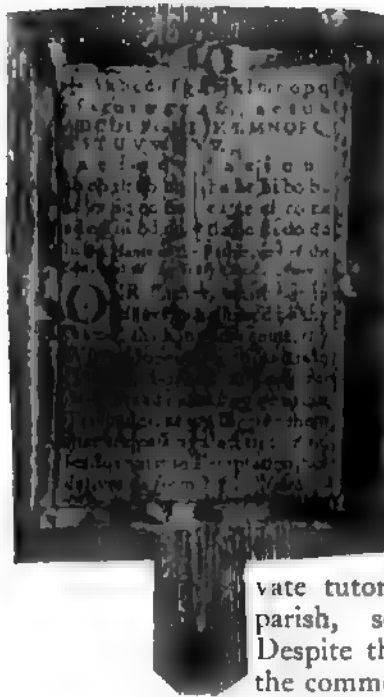
them, by religious tests. It has been estimated that the number of voters "was not more than a fifth to an eighth as large in proportion to the population as at present. In Connecticut in 1775 among 200,000 people there were but 4,325 voters." Socially, the lines were pretty clearly drawn. "At the top of the social scale stood the ruling class, composed, in New England, of the clergy, magistrates, college and other professional men; in New York, of these classes and, above all else, of the great landholders along the Hudson; in the South, the proprietors of the great plantations"—"Tuckahoes," they were called in Virginia—constituted the upper stratum. Class distinctions were less sharply drawn in Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania than elsewhere. Ceremonious forms were in common use, and, in some of the colonies, a man was prohibited by law from dressing "above his degree." Students in college and worshipers in church were seated according to their social standing. "The upper class made much of birth and ancestry; and, whatever our prejudices against rank, it is significant that from this class came many of the statesmen and generals of the Revolution."

With the exception of Rhode Island, New England led the rest of the country in matters of education. Owing largely to her system of town schools, probably a larger proportion of the population of that section could read and write than in any other country excepting per-

1 7 6 3
Politics and
Pedigree

Elementary
Education

1763 haps Scotland. Even in New England, however, the school seldom "kept" more than four months in the year;



A Horn-book

"the teacher was often a youthful divinity student, and sometimes the minister of the parish, or even the innkeeper." The methods of instruction were poor; the text-books and other pedagogical appliances, including the ferule and the birchen rod, were far from satisfactory. In the middle colonies, commendable efforts were made to educate the young; in the South, the education of the masses was almost wholly neglected, except for some feeble efforts in Maryland and Virginia. In Governor Martin's time, there were but two schools in North Carolina. In this section, the children of the

rich were generally educated by private tutors, frequently by the minister of the parish, sometimes by indentured convicts. Despite the lack of school advantages, many of the common people managed to acquire a smattering of learning; a love for books sometimes revealed itself in unexpected places. When the "Long Hunters" visited Kentucky in 1770, they took with them for their "amusement the history of Samuel Gulliver's travels."

Colleges

In the way of higher education, a commendable beginning had been made. By 1763, six important colleges, Harvard, William and Mary, Yale, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and King's, had been established. The number of students, however, was small and the equipment meager; the courses of instruction confined chiefly to the classics, theology, philosophy, and mathematics; the standard of scholarship was hardly more than that of an academy. When Burnaby traveled in Virginia, in 1759, he reported that "the college of William and

Mary is the only public place of education and this has by no means answered the design of its institution." 1763

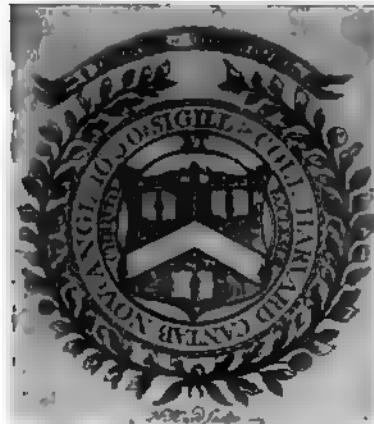
The faculty consisted of a president who superintended the whole institution and read four theological lectures annually; the professor of the Indian school; the professor of humanity who had an usher or assistant under him; and four others, the professors of moral philosophy,



William and Mary College

metaphysics, mathematics, and divinity. In the following year the same observer found that what now is Princeton had "only two professors, besides the provost." There were twenty boys in the grammar-school and sixty in the college. The provost received two hundred pounds currency per year, the professors fifty pounds each, the expenses of a student for room-rent, commons,

and tutorage were about twenty-five pounds annually. In the same year, King's college had only about twenty-seven students and graduated a class of seven; Burnaby thought the president too old. Yale and Harvard were more vigorous. Especially in the South, the sons of great families were frequently sent to one of the English universities. After graduation, they would perhaps read law in the Temple, "make the



Seal of Harvard College

(Engraved about 1764, and for many years used on the "deture" or prizes given for scholarship)

1 7 6 3 grand tour, play a part in the fashionable society of London, and come back to their plantations fine gentlemen and scholars."

Science

In 1743, Franklin, in proposing the formation of an "American Philosophical Society," said that "The first drudgery of settling new colonies . . . is now pretty well over; and there are many in every province in circumstances that set them at ease and afford leisure to cultivate the finer arts and improve the common stock of knowledge." By 1763, there were many in the colonies who were members and correspondents of foreign scientific societies, and Franklin was known the world over for his researches in electricity. In Europe, the old spirit of blind dependence on Aristotle and Pliny was giving way to the spirit of research. In their new environment, with the writings of the ancients out of easy reach, American scholars were almost driven to investigate for themselves. Still the skeptical scientific spirit of today was by no means fully developed. The Swedish traveler and scientist, Peter Kalm, who visited the colonies in 1749-50, gravely avers that the Quaker botanist, John Bartram, "told me that when a bear catches a cow, he kills her in the following manner: he bites a hole into the hide and blows with all his power into it, till the animal swells excessively and dies; for the air expands greatly between the flesh and the hide." Then and for long years afterward, Boston was the intellectual "hub," although Philadelphia, with Franklin, Bartram, and Rittenhouse, was not far behind. In New York, there was little intellectual life, the pursuit of wealth being even then the all-absorbing passion. In speaking of Virginia, Burnaby says that "the progress of the arts and sciences in this colony has been very inconsiderable," and the same statement would have applied to most of the other colonies.

Art and
Literature

Literature and the fine arts do not flourish on a new soil. Broadly speaking, there were neither artists nor literary writers of merit, on the one hand, nor patrons of leisure and means on the other. Benjamin West and John Singleton Copley, almost the only colonial artists

now remembered, had just entered upon their careers, and they were obliged to seek instruction and much of their patronage abroad. Most of the few pictures and statues that might be found had been imported from Europe. John Adams once said that there were no painters or sculptors in America and he hoped there never would be. Aside from newspaper writing, authorship was chiefly confined to political and theological themes. Thomas Hutchinson, the first volume of whose *History of Massachusetts Bay* appeared in 1764, Jonathan Edwards, the author of

1763



An Enlistment Blank, with engraved View of Fort Hill, Boston

the profound *Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will*, and Benjamin Franklin, the only one of the three to attain truly cosmopolitan fame, were the only notable writers of the period. There were no novelists, and the poetical effusions of the time do not rise to the level of literature.

Most of the books in the colonies were imported from England, though some had been reprinted here. Pamphlets and almanacs occupied a more important place than such publications do today. By the end of 1765, forty-three newspapers and four literary magazines had been established, but many of them were no longer published.

Printing

1 7 6 3 The circulation of a newspaper was always small; it has been estimated that the combined circulation of the thirty-seven newspapers printed in 1775 was about five thousand copies. There was no daily publication until 1784. In those days, the chief contents of a newspaper were bits of poetry, advertisements for runaway slaves and indented servants, reports of the arrivals of cargoes, bits of European news, and essays on politics, morals, and religion, little that we would call news. As a rule, a newspaper contained less matter in a year than is now

to be found in a single Sunday issue of many a metropolitan journal.

From many points of view, the colonists of 1763 appear as a society in the making, a provincial people who had contributed little to civilization. But in their capacity for self-govern-



A Colonial Printing-press and Type Case
(Said to have been used by Franklin)

Politics

ment, they stood in the front rank. The inherited political traditions and usages that the founders brought from England had developed under new conditions and in new directions, but nowhere had they lost their vigor. Whether the form of colonial government was proprietary, royal, or practically independent corporate, the voter had, directly or through his representatives, a large share in the conduct of affairs. In purely local matters, the people were practically supreme. They developed three types of local government, the town

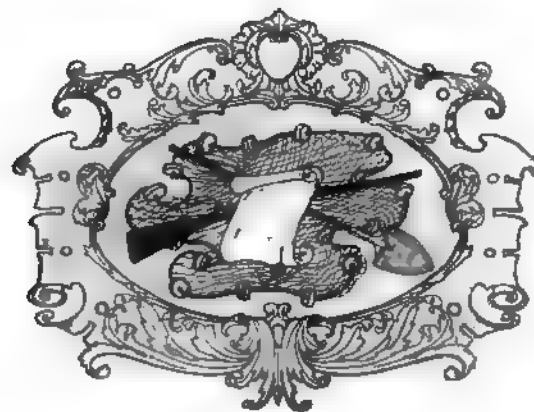
system of New England, the county system of the 1763 South, and a combination of the two in the middle colonies; as the West was settled, these types moved westward along the parallels of latitude. But whether the people managed their own affairs in the town-meeting or through less purely democratic procedure, they were the local sovereigns, for nowhere was there a colonial officer charged with the administration of local affairs. The training thus received was now of priceless value.

Yet it was a grave problem whether, with all this training, the colonists would be able to set up a unified government. "America is formed for happiness, but not for empire," was Burnaby's conclusion; "in a course of 1,200 miles I did not see a single object that solicited charity; but I saw insuperable causes of weakness, which will necessarily prevent its being a potent state." Was Burnaby right, or would the Americans, in spite of differences of blood, religion, language, and social customs, be able, thanks to that training, to establish a vigorous political organism? This was a vital question and it took a quarter of a century to find the answer.



A Revolutionary Time Pistol

The Great Question





C H A P T E R I I

ON THE WAY TO REVOLUTION—THE SUGAR ACT

Genesis

MANY persons still think that the American revolution began soon after the close of the Seven Years' war and that it was caused by the attempt of the British ministry to raise a revenue from the colonies. In fact, the origin of that great upheaval lies far back in English history, before a single English colony had been planted in America. The more one studies the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the more clearly does one see that the collisions at Lexington and Concord were due less to the stamp act and the tea act than they were to the development of forces that existed in England at the time of the Tudors and that blossomed in the New World with the coming of Winthrop and the Puritans. In a large sense, Greenwood and Penry were forerunners of Otis and Hancock, and the Mayflower compact was a stepping-stone to the declaration of independence.

Title-deeds

When, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, European explorers were finding hitherto unknown lands, it became necessary to determine the ownership thereof. By common consent of civilized nations, lands newly discovered were held to have belonged to no one (*res nullius*) and might be appropriated by the discoverer or explorer, not for himself, but for his sovereign. In other words, when nobody's property became somebody's by discovery, that "somebody" was not the one who found it, but his royal master. The inhabitants of such lands,

being heathen, pagan, or infidel, were regarded by the Church as on a plane inferior to that occupied by Christians. A person unbaptized was a pagan, and the Indian never had been baptized; his right in the soil was held to be a right of occupancy, not of ownership. 1 7 6 3

By "right of discovery," therefore, as thus developed and applied, the title to the soil of the English colonies in America was vested, not in people or parliament, but in the crown—just as it was in England. Settlers in the colonies were subject to the general control of parliament and king, but they were regarded as enjoying only such political and legal privileges as were conferred by the crown in the charters of the colonies. In form, these grants were liberal, as appears in the first charter of Virginia and other colonial grants. All of the colonies appropriated and applied the English common law; but they were regarded as exempt from the operation of parliamentary statutes passed after the colony was founded, unless such application was expressly provided for in the statute itself. Inherited Rights
Volume 2, page 37

Before this theory of the legal relations between a colony and the mother country had undergone much development, the people and the parliament of England became involved in a long and bitter struggle with the crown over the question of royal prerogative. That the king ruled by divine right, that he was above the law, and that he might, if he chose, override the law or dispense with it, were doctrines that subservient judges, lawyers, and preachers upheld; but from the accession of James I., in 1603, such claims were more and more resisted in England, and later in the colonies, as inconsistent with the fundamental rights of Englishmen. On both sides of the Atlantic, Englishmen were determined that magna charta should survive as something more than a memory and a name. Insistence upon prerogative had cost English monarchs much; George III. was now to sacrifice to it the greater part of his New World empire. It would have been well for him had he adopted as his own the definition given in the Reverend Gad Hitch- Prerogative

I 7 6 3 cock's election sermon: "Prerogative itself is not a power to do anything it pleases, but a power to do some things for the good of the community, in such cases as promulgated laws are not able to provide for it."

Monopoly
and Revenue

Volume 2,
pages 29-32,
and 188-193;
Volume 3,
pages 192-216

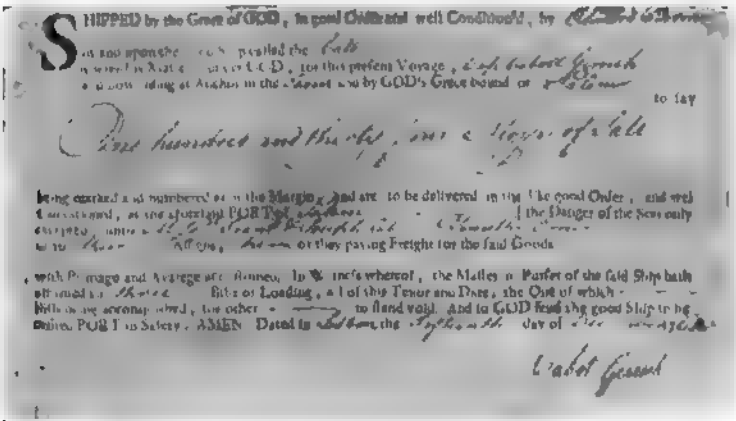
Although the theory of English law made the colonies directly subject to the crown, parliament freely exercised the right of legislating for them as a part of the empire. This legislation was directed chiefly to the regulation of the colonial trade—in the interest of monopoly at first, for the purpose of revenue later. The monopoly legislation was for the benefit, not so much of king, colonist, or empire, as of the British merchant, manufacturer, and ship-owner. It included chiefly the navigation laws and the acts of trade, the enactment, purpose, and effects of which were briefly considered in the second and third volumes of this history. A review of the pages indicated in the margin is suggested to the reader of this chapter. The revenue legislation, most of which was enacted after 1763, included the imposition of taxes and duties, and the establishment of custom-houses and admiralty courts for their collection.

Drag

I wish here to repeat what, in earlier chapters, I have plainly stated: The colonial policy of England sprang from no ill-will toward her colonies; it was based upon a then universal but now evidently erroneous notion that colonies existed almost wholly for the benefit of mother countries. As I have pointed out, there were numerous compensations in the navigation laws and acts of trade, although, as a whole, they doubtless hindered the economic development of the colonies and interfered vexatiously with industrial and commercial affairs. It certainly must be admitted that not until after 1763 was a vigorous or general enforcement of the trade laws attempted by the English authorities, and that smuggling and evasion, often with the connivance of customs officials, were very common in America. In spite of "filio-pietistic" pains, it must be further admitted that some of these violations of law were accompanied by what we call "graft," as appears from the following declaration: "I,

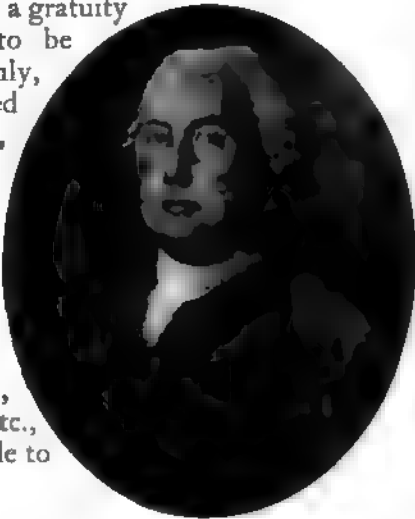
Graft

Sampson Toovey, clerk of James Cockle, Esq., collector of his Majesty's customs for the port of Salem, do declare on oath, that ever since I have been in the office, it



Shipping Bill, dated December 15, 1764

hath been customary for the said Cockle to receive of the masters of vessels entering from Lisbon, casks of wine, boxes of fruit, etc., which was a gratuity for suffering their vessels to be entered with salt or ballast only, and passing over unnoticed such cargoes of wine, fruit, etc., which are prohibited to be imported into his Majesty's plantations. Part of which wine, fruit, etc., he the said James Cockle used to share with Gov. Bernard. And I further declare that I used to be the negotiator of this business, and receive the wine, fruit, etc., and dispose of them agreeable to Mr. Cockle's orders. Witness my hand, Sampson Toovey, Essex Co., Salem, Sept. 27, 1764.

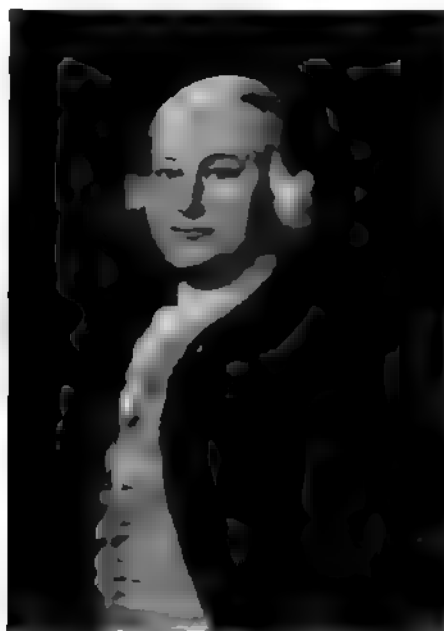


Fra & Bernard

1760 Of course, a systematic disregard of parliamentary
 1761 statutes by Americans, with or without the connivance of
 Governor royal officials, could not be tolerated indefinitely, and the
 Bernard complaints of those in England for whose benefit the
 acts had been passed could not continue to go unheard.
 In fact, a new ministerial policy was waiting at the door.
 In 1760, Thomas Pownall, the successor of Shirley as
 governor of Massachusetts, gave way for Francis Bernard.
 Pownall was a good friend of the colonies and later, in
 England, a warm advocate of their rights. Bernard,
 while not unfriendly, was a firm believer in the royal pre-
 rogative whose official representative he was. A more
 enlightened person might well have been chosen, but
 enlightenment was not the distinguishing trait of royal
 governors in the eighteenth century, and Bernard was
 better than most of his class.

Writs of
 Assistance

In 1755, when the Seven Years' war had just begun,
 "writs of assistance," i. e., general warrants empowering
 officers of the cus-
 toms to search private
 houses for smuggled
 goods without speci-
 fying either houses or
 goods, were issued by
 the courts of Massa-
 chusetts. In 1761, the
 application of Thomas
 Lechmere, surveyor-
 general, for the con-
 tinuance of such writs
 "as usual"—former
 writs being about to
 lapse through the
 death of George II.
 —called out a fiery
 argument from James
 Otis who, "with a
 tongue of flame and
 the inspiration of a



James Otis

seer," declared that a law that made it possible for inferior officials, acting on mere suspicion or from personal enmity, thus to invade the home of the citizen was "a kind of authority, the exercise of which cost one king of England his head and another his throne," and that even an act of parliament that sanctioned such a procedure should be treated as null and void. Chief-justice Hutchinson, doubtless right in his interpretation and application of the law, granted the writs. Had the protest of James Otis failed? More than a half-century later, John Adams declared that "then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there the child Independence was born." The speech made the public more sensitive concerning encroachments upon their rights and made Otis a leader of public opinion in New England in like constitutional questions.

At a time when the legislature was not in session, but with the approval of the council, Governor Bernard had sent two ships to protect the fisheries against French privateers, an act that, a few years before, would probably have met with public gratitude. But the question of prerogative had now inflamed the public mind, and, when the assembly was asked to provide for the payment of the expenses thus incurred, the representatives sent to the governor a message written by Otis in which they boldly remonstrated against such a method of "taking from the house their most darling privilege, the right of originating all taxes. . . . It would be of little consequence to the people," they insisted, "whether they were subject to George or Louis, the king of Great Britain or the French king, if both were arbitrary as both would be if both could levy taxes without parliament."

An Offensive Address

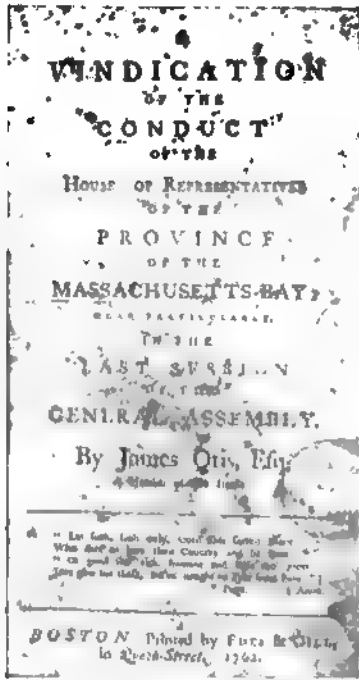
The governor returned the address with an earnest entreaty that the words in which the "sacred and well-beloved name" of the king was "so disrespectfully brought into question" be not entered upon the minutes of the house. Under great excitement, the representatives voted to expunge the "dreadful words under which

Otis's "Vindication"

1 7 6 2 his Excellency" had "placed a black mark," but as the
1 7 6 3 governor insisted that his course in incurring expense not
authorized by the legislature was justifiable, the house
appointed a committee to prepare for publication a more
careful statement of the position it had taken. Acting
for the committee of which he was a member, Otis pre-
pared and published a pamphlet entitled *A Vindication of
the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province
of the Massachusetts Bay*. In this constitutional argu-
ment, which has been called
the source from which all
subsequent arguments
against taxation were
derived, "James Otis reveals
the habit of his mind,
wherein gravity and frolic,
logic and sarcasm, all rush
together for expression."

September,
1762

The
Ministerial
View



Title-page of Otis's Pamphlet

ministry turned naturally toward America. The acquisition of Canada was a great advantage to the empire but the more immediate gain was to the colonies themselves; on the frontier, where war had been waged intermittently for nearly a hundred years, there was peace. What had been conquered must be defended, and there was fear that England's ancient enemy would renew the war and

try to reestablish New France. To the English ministry it seemed proper that a standing army should be maintained in America and that the colonies should bear a part of the expense. 1 7 6 3

No imperial government at the present day would be likely to embark on such a course of action without first consulting the people most directly affected by it. Such, however, was not the policy of George III. or his ministers, before whose eyes loomed large the claims of prerogative. When, a little later, in resisting the attempt to tax the colonies directly, the colonial remonstrance was stated, it was pointed out that the colonies had already contributed liberally toward the expenses of the various wars in which they had been involved; that a number of the colonies were heavily in debt on account of the wars; and that the reimbursement of their military expenses, which parliament had granted from time to time, had been incomplete. It was further shown that a large contribution to the taxable wealth of the mother country was made by the colonies through the operation of the navigation acts and acts of trade, and that to call for a further contribution would be to ask for more than could be performed. Such arguments, however, carried little weight in England, particularly with the wealthy and influential trading class in whose interest the commercial system of the empire had been built up. What Englishmen chiefly saw, or imagined they saw, was that England needed more income, that the American colonies were prosperous, and that a strict enforcement of the trade laws would probably produce a large part of the needed revenue. The Colonial View

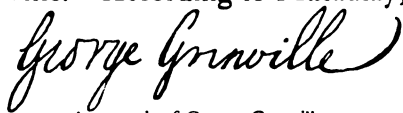
In February, 1763, Charles Townshend was made first lord of trade and plantations, an office that was charged with the administration of colonial affairs. Largely on his own motion, but with the support of Bute's ministry, Townshend formulated and announced the new colonial policy. The elements of that policy were, first, the abandonment of royal requisi- The Townshend Policy

Townshend
Autograph of Charles Townshend

1 7 6 3 tions on the colonial assemblies, hitherto relied upon for obtaining supplies and money grants, and the substitution therefor of taxes laid upon the colonies by act of parliament; second, the payment of colonial governors and judges by the crown instead of by the colonies; third, the maintenance of a standing army of twenty regiments, about ten thousand men, in America; and, finally, the payment of these extraordinary charges by parliamentary taxation. It was estimated that to garrison the forts surrendered by the French, to maintain an additional force sufficient to hold the Indians in check and provide for the general defense, and to pay the salaries of civil officers would require three hundred thousand pounds a year.

The Grenville
Ministry

The peace of Paris was unpopular in England and was quickly followed by a change of ministry. In April, Lord Bute, the prime minister, who had been placed in office only because he was a favorite of the king and who was hated by the populace, gave way to George Grenville. According to Macaulay, "the worst administration



Autograph of George Grenville

that has governed England since the Revolution [of 1688] was that of Grenville. His public

acts may be classed under two heads—outrages on the liberty of the people and outrages on the dignity of the crown." It was of such that an Englishman of a later generation wrote:

Yea, though we sinned and our rulers went from righteousness —
Deep in all dishonour though we stained our garment's hem,
Oh, be ye not dismayed,
Though we stumbled and we strayed
We were led by evil counsellors — the Lord shall deal with them.

The leading spirit in the cabinet and in the house of commons was Townshend, and he was resolved on making a thorough change in the government of America.

The
Sugar Act

Grenville was committed to Townshend's policy and now undertook to put it into operation. The first step was the passage of what is known as the sugar act. An act of 1733, commonly known as the molasses act, had

been aimed at the French sugar colonies, which had been I 7 6 3
 able to displace the sugar of English colonies in the Euro- I 7 6 4
 pean market and to compete successfully with the Eng-
 lish product in the American market. The molasses act
 was "unmistakably ill-advised" and its enforcement
 would have been disastrous. It had remained, however,
 practically a dead letter, though five times renewed from
 the date of its expiration in 1738. It was now, by a
 provision of the sugar act, made perpetual, although the
 duty on imported molasses was reduced from sixpence to
 threepence per gallon and the duty on sugar was corre-
 spondingly lessened. As far as it went, the reduction was
 a change from a prohibitory tariff to a tariff for revenue.

Volume 3,
 page 203

The sugar act also levied duties on coffee, indigo, Its Provisions
 pimento, wines, silks and other eastern stuffs, calico, and
 linen, when imported into the American colonies; and
 prohibited the importation of foreign rum or spirits, and
 of sugar that had not come from England as provided by
 the acts of trade. Further, all coffee, pimento, cocoa-
 nuts, whale-fins, raw silk, hides, and skins, and pot and
 pearl ashes produced in America must, if exported, be
 sent directly to Great Britain or a British colony; and the
 exportation of the important articles of lumber and iron
 to any European country except Great Britain was pro-
 hibited. European salt, wines from Madeira and the
 Azores, and horses, food supplies, and linen cloth to or
 from Ireland, were excepted from the operation of the
 act which became a law on the fifth of April, 1764, and
 was to take effect at the end of the following September.
 In March, before the sugar act had become a law, Gren-
 ville had announced his intention of bringing in a stamp
 act at the next session, as will be more fully set forth in
 the next chapter. On the nineteenth of April, the king,
 in proroguing parliament, spoke in approval of "the wise
 regulations which have been established to augment the
 public revenues, [and] to unite the interests of the most
 distant possessions of the crown." Eleven years from
 that day, at Lexington and Concord, the "embattled farm-
 ers" stamped their commentary on that royal utterance.

4 George III.
 cap. 15

I 7 6 4
For the
Defense of
America

Although for the first time in English history, the title of a parliamentary act now spoke of "granting duties in the colonies," the reasonable purpose of the ministry was clearly set forth. The sugar act provided that all the proceeds arising from the duties imposed by it, together with those accruing from the molasses act, should, after deducting the cost of collection and accounting, "be paid into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, and shall be entered separate and apart from all other monies paid or payable to his Majesty . . . and shall be there reserved, to be, from time to time, disposed of by parliament, towards defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America."

The
Enforcement
of Law

The significance of the sugar act lay not only in the imposition of specific duties and the avowed purpose to raise a revenue in America, but also in the determination of the ministry to enforce its provisions. For the colonies, the era of *laissez faire* was at an end. Whether, in view of a century of negligence on the part of the home government, the colonies had been justified in disregarding previous acts of trade, was an ethical question to which diverse answers might be made. There could be little question, however, that their strict enforcement now would work serious interference with colonial commerce. The Americans of 1764 were poor; they had little capital and handled little actual money; their foreign trade, which to the Grenville ministry seemed so lucrative, thrived on a small margin of profit, the existence of which depended largely on exemption from burdensome import duties. In other words, the enforcement of the sugar act threatened disaster to some of the most profitable colonial industries, with added inconvenience and expense to the people as a whole.

A New
Departure

Grenville and Townshend appear to have taken no account of these economic conditions, or of the important changes that had taken place in colonial public spirit. Loyal as the Americans of 1764 were to the mother country, they had so long enjoyed practical independence

that any attempt at systematic interference now would almost certainly be resisted. English ideas of political and personal liberty had been for generations more general in the colonies than in England itself. The colonists had subdued the wilderness, fought the Indians and the French, built homes and churches, cultivated farms, and developed trade, and, for the most part, without English aid. To a large extent, they had been permitted to govern themselves. Further—and this is very important—they looked to the crown and not to parliament for such direction and control as had hitherto been exercised. The sugar act, with the policy that it embodied, was to all intents and purposes a new departure.

The passage of the sugar act became known in the American colonies in May and created a great sensation in all of them. The molasses act had imposed a parliamentary tax but only as a trade regulation; the sugar act proposed a parliamentary tax but did it to produce a revenue. This difference in the intent pushed to the front the question of the right to tax. This was a constitutional question on which Boston must be heard. At a meeting held at Faneuil Hall, instructions to the town's representatives in the general court, previously prepared by Samuel Adams, were adopted by the indignant citizens. The instructions explicitly declared that "there is no Room for further Delay. . . . These unexpected Proceedings may be preparatory to new Taxations upon us: for if our Trade may be taxed, why not our

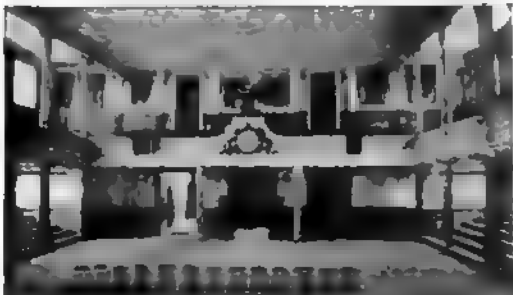
A Boston
Town-
meeting



May 24,
1764

Peter Faneuil, who presented to the City of Boston the Hall which bears his Name to this Day

1 7 6 4 Lands? Why not the produce of our Lands, and every-
thing we possess or make use of? This
we apprehend annihilates our Charter
Right to govern and tax ourselves.



Present-day Exterior and Interior of Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of Liberty"

A Suggestion
of Colonial
Union

Sam Adams

See
Frontispiece

From
Economics
to Politics

. . . If Taxes are laid upon us in any shape without our having a legal Representation where they are laid, are we not reduced from the character of free Subjects to the miserable State of Tributary Slaves?" The document contained the added suggestion that "as His Majesty's other Northern American Colonys are embarked with us in this most important Bottom, we further desire you to use your Endeavors that their weight may be added to that of this Province: that by the united applications of all who are aggrieved, all may Happily obtain Redress."

Samuel Adams, then and now better known as Sam Adams, thus introduced to us, was forty-two years old, a graduate of Harvard College and a Boston selectman. As a money-maker, he had long since proved a failure; but his wants were few, his honesty unquestioned, and his public spirit unexcelled. He had, in a high degree, the ability to present profound and weighty subjects in a popular manner—an ability that well fitted him for the part he was now to play as the leading advocate of American independence.

To admit that Adams and his supporters recognized the fact that sixpence unpaid was less burdensome than threepence exacted, does not remove the foundation facts that the issue had been changed from economics to

politics, and that the new principle involved and avowed must, if clung to, lead to remonstrance and resistance. The change of issue thus made was unfortunate for the ministerial party. It came in an hour when a young and growing country was beginning to find that its garments were too strait; when great expectations and undefined aspirations were breaking forth; when there were longings more or less conscious for more air, greater freedom of movement, and larger fields of action; when "the growing colonies were making their way, guided by the unseen Hand, towards separation, freedom, and independence." The spectacular nullification of the stamp act of 1765 has led historians to pass lightly over the sugar act of 1764, but a careful study of contemporary colonial opinion shows that the earlier statute must be reckoned among the principal, immediate causes of the American revolution.

The political situation was further complicated by a non-conformist fear that the British government would set up an Anglican episcopate in the American colonies. Such a scheme had been in contemplation as far back as the time of Archbishop Laud. Under Charles II., the restricted suffragan authority of the bishop of London in the colonies received legal sanction, whence the practice of appointing commissaries to exercise his delegated authority therein. Soon after its incorporation, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts began to urge the institution of bishops in America. Queen Anne sanctioned the plan, but her successor, George I., did not approve the project, and Walpole was too cautious to try so dangerous an experiment. Near the end of Walpole's ministry, however, the subject was revived by Thomas Secker, bishop of Oxford, in reply to whom it was pointed out that, if such a step was taken, some means must be found for the suffragans' support; if the provincial assemblies should refuse to provide the money, the whole influence of the church of England would be used to procure an act of parliament taxing the colonies for the purpose. The subject would thus assume

An
American
Episcopate

1 7 6 3 a political aspect. Henceforth, the advocates of epis-
 1 7 6 7 copacy became more and more persistent. Thomas
 Sherlock, bishop of London from 1748 to 1761, seems
 to have refrained, as far as possible, from exercising his
 authority in the colonies in the hope of forcing Episco-
 palians in America "to demand an episcopate of their
 own," and was supported by Joseph Butler, bishop of
 Durham, who, in 1750, drew up a plan for the proposed
 episcopate.

The Mayhew
 Controversy

In 1763, interest in the subject was intensified by the
 publication of a pamphlet by Jonathan Mayhew of
 Boston, claiming that the Society for the Propagation of
 the Gospel had been perverted into an instrument for
 rooting out Presbyterianism and establishing a colonial
 episcopacy. Mayhew's pamphlet provoked a reply from
 Secker, now the archbishop of Canterbury, in which the
 distinguished prelate set forth "a plan of what the pro-
 posed bishop would be allowed to do and what not to do,"
 much as Bishop Butler had done in 1750. Returning to
 the charge, Mayhew argued that, when once established,
 the bishops would not be content without some of the
 "power and grandeur" enjoyed by the bishops in Eng-
 land, and expressed a fear of Episcopalian control of
 legislatures, taxes laid for the support of an Anglican
 church established in America, "test acts, ecclesiastical
 courts, and what not." The controversy excited great
 interest in the colonies where the old hatred and fear of
 episcopacy blazed up once more. John Adams says that
 the supposed design to establish bishops "spread an uni-
 versal alarm against the authority of parliament"—the
 body that must enact the needed legislation.

A Pamphlet
 War

In 1767, while the Townshend acts were on the anvil,
 the political strife was intensified by a pamphlet war
 between Thomas Bradbury Chandler and Charles Chauncy
 and their respective allies. Chandler, Connecticut born,
 went to England in 1751, was admitted to orders by the
 bishop of London, and began his missionary labors at
 Elizabethtown, New Jersey, in the same year. Chauncy
 was Boston born, a grandson of a president of Harvard

and pastor of the First Church in Boston. Chandler I 7 6 7 opened the contest in his *Appeal to the Public in Behalf I 7 6 8 of the Church of England in America*, a powerful argument in favor of episcopacy and in advocacy of a scheme much like those previously advanced by Butler and Secker. Chauncy made an elaborate and forcible answer to Chandler's *Appeal* in which he argued that the supporters of episcopacy had much more in mind than they were willing to declare. "We are as fully persuaded," he wrote, "as if they had openly said it, that they have in view nothing short of a COMPLETE CHURCH HIERARCHY, after the pattern of that at home, with like offices, in all their various degrees of dignity, with a like large revenue for their grand support, and with the allowance of no other privileges to dissenters but that of bare toleration." The pamphlet controversy was accompanied by an acrimonious newspaper war, for the proceedings of parliament under Townshend's lead, as will soon be explained more fully, had given a great stimulus to American political literature. The pamphlet war had its political aspect, and those aspects had become important in the minds of the people.

Thus the agitation for an American episcopate should be reckoned as, at least, a secondary cause of the American revolution, although, in the opinion of Doctor Cross, "the strained relations which heralded the War of Independence strengthened the opposition to episcopacy, rather than that religious differences were a prime cause of political alienation." The contest had a marked influence on the development of the revolutionary parties. "It is at least a tenable hypothesis," writes Cross, "that the bitterness of the controversy brought out so sharply the latent hostility between Episcopalian and Puritan, that many churchmen who might otherwise have taken the side of their country were, by the force of their injured religious convictions, driven over to the royalist ranks." In 1768, the Massachusetts legislature ordered its London agent strenuously to "oppose the establishment of a Protestant episcopate in America,"

The Effect

1 7 5 9 and even "Virginia, where the church of England was
 1 7 6 2 established, was opposed to the introduction of bishops."
 All in all, we cannot doubt that these controversies contributed "to embitter the mind of the patriots, and thus to accelerate the impending crisis."

The Parson's
Cause

As an illustration of the colonial spirit, slumbering but easily aroused, stands the famous "Parson's Cause." By a Virginia act of 1696, the salaries of the clergy of that colony had been fixed at sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco. In 1755, and again in 1758, the tobacco crop having been greatly injured by drought, the general assembly authorized the payment of taxes and salaries in money instead of tobacco, and at the previous current rate of twopence per pound. As the smallness of the crop had raised the price of the staple, many of the ministers objected to the loss of income caused by this legislation. Their complaints reached the ears of the bishop of London and the Virginia act of 1758 was vetoed by the king in council.

August 10,
1759

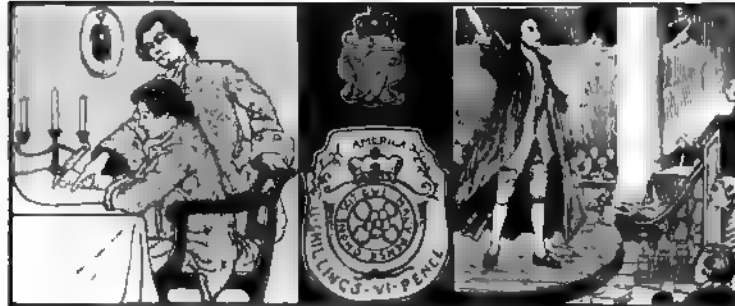
Introducing
Patrick Henry

In 1762, the Reverend James Maury brought suit against the collectors of his parish for the amount of his salary in tobacco. The court decided against the validity of the acts, and the question went to the jury for a determination of the damages. The attorney for the plaintiff explained to the jury that their duty consisted in calculating the difference between the salary as computed under the acts of the assembly, and the value of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco at the current market rate of sixpence a pound. The counsel for the defense was Patrick Henry, a young lawyer fast rising into prominence. In a fiery speech, Henry denounced the action of the crown in setting aside the Virginia act as "an instance of misrule," and an act of tyranny that forfeited all claim to the obedience of the subject. Murmurs of "Treason!" "Treason!" were heard, but Henry, undisturbed, and unhindered by the court, continued his argument. As to the law, Henry was hopelessly wrong, but the jury yielded to his eloquence and brought in a verdict of one penny damages.

With such a spirit in the colonies, the raising of a revenue in America by act of parliament seemed likely to be attended with difficulties. The sugar act, however, was only a part of the ministerial program, the remainder of which, together with the working of the whole, demands our attention.

1 7 6 3
The Outlook





C H A P T E R I I I

T H E S T A M P A C T

Grenville's
Declaratory
Resolves

IT was not anticipated that the duties imposed by the sugar act and the molasses act would produce more than one-third of the additional revenue needed to carry Townshend's scheme into effect. For the remainder, recourse was to be had to stamp duties, the use of which had long been familiar in England. As early as September, 1763, the English commissioners of stamp duties were called upon to report a plan for the extension of the system to America. In March, 1764, before the sugar act had been finally voted upon, Grenville introduced into the house of commons a series of declaratory resolutions announcing his intention to bring in a stamp act at the next session.

The Bait

It was explained that the delay in the introduction of the act was to the end that the colonial assemblies might have opportunity to suggest some other method of raising the needed revenue in case the plan submitted by the ministry was not acceptable. "The colonists now have it in their power," ingeniously proclaimed Grenville, "by agreeing to this tax, to establish a precedent for their being consulted before any tax is imposed on them by parliament; for their approbation of it being signified to parliament next year, when the tax comes to be imposed, will afford a forcible argument for the like proceeding in all such cases. If they think any other mode of taxation more convenient to them, and make any proposition of equal efficacy with the stamp duty, I will give it all due

consideration." Parliament, most of whose members 1 7 6 4
neither knew nor cared anything about America, approved
the plan.

That the government in England was about to enter
upon a sterner policy was further shown by the preamble
of an act passed at the parliamentary session that ended
on the nineteenth of April, 1764, in which appear these
words: "Whereas it is expedient that new provisions
and regulations should be established for improving the
revenue of this kingdom, and for extending and securing
the navigation and commerce between Great Britain and
your Majesty's dominions in America, which, by the
peace, have been so happily enlarged; and whereas it is
just and necessary that a revenue be raised in your
Majesty's said dominions in America, for defraying the
expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the
same," etc.

A Tell-tale
Preamble

4 George III.
cap. 15

At the time of the Boston town-meeting mentioned in
the preceding chapter, the evidence was conclusive that
England had made up her mind that "the time had come
for a complete readjustment of her somewhat loose, irreg-
ular, and unbusiness-like relations to those American
possessions, particularly with the view of making them
contribute some substantial help to the general cost of
the empire, in the benefits of which all participated." In
this crisis, the aggressive leadership of Massachusetts was
natural; for it was there, more than in any other colony,
that the spirit of colonial independence had been fostered,
and encroachments of the royal prerogative resisted;
there that Otis's assertion of the principles of English
liberty had found the warmest welcome; and there that
the enforcement of the acts of trade would lay the heav-
iest burden.

The Advance-
guard

The Massachusetts general court convened on the
thirtieth of May. In accordance with the instructions of
the Boston town-meeting, Otis prepared a memorial that
the house ordered to be sent to the London agent of the
colony with an elaborate letter instructing him to urge
the repeal of the sugar act and to remonstrate against the

A Committee
of Corre-
spondence

1764 proposed stamp act—"a scathing rebuke for neglect and inefficiency that must have made his ears tingle." Just before the general court was prorogued, the house, again at the instigation of Adams, appointed a committee to act in the recess of the court and to correspond with the assemblies of the other colonies, with a view to common action against the common danger. This idea of committees of correspondence was promptly taken up elsewhere. The Rhode Island assembly chose a committee that addressed a vigorous letter to the assembly of Pennsylvania. The Quaker colony replied by voting a remonstrance against the new taxes and sending Franklin to England as colonial agent. New York and North Carolina also appointed committees, while the assemblies of Connecticut, Virginia, and South Carolina drew up petitions and remonstrances.

An Inspiring Pamphlet

July



Coat of Arms of James Otis

The era of the modern newspaper had not yet been ushered in and men who wished to catch the public ear were in the habit of writing pamphlets. James Otis, now a prominent figure in Massachusetts politics, published the most sedate of his political writings, a pamphlet entitled *The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved*. With "unwonted sobriety; few humorous or grotesque passages; few bursts of passion; in many places a moderation of tone almost judicial," it gave consideration to "the origin of government, the nature and rights of colonies in general, and the nature and rights of the British colonies in particular." Insisting that the fundamental, free principles of the British constitution antedate and underlie the colonial charters, so that, even if the charters were annulled, the colonists would still "be men, citizens, and British subjects," and "entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent, and inseparable rights of our fellow-subjects

in Great Britain," he admits that parliament "has an undoubted power and lawful authority to make acts for the general good that, by naming them, shall and ought to be equally binding as upon the subjects of Great Britain within the realm." But even the supreme legislature "cannot take from any man any part of his property without his consent in person or by representation." "No parts of his Majesty's dominions can be taxed without their consent" and "every part has a right to be represented in the supreme or some subordinate legislature."

On the subject of representation and taxation, the pamphlet further sets forth that "the colonies are subordinate dominions, and are now in such a state as to make it best, for the good of the whole, that they should not only be continued in the enjoyment of subordinate legislation, but be also represented, in some proportion to their number and estates, in the grand legislative of the nation; that this would firmly unite all parts of the British empire in the greatest peace and prosperity, and render it invulnerable and perpetual." Since such representation was impracticable on account of the distance of the colonies, and for other reasons, it would be better for all concerned that there should be, in parliament, "neither colonial representation nor colonial taxation."

So evident is the purpose of the pamphlet—not to bring about a revolution but to avert one—that there can be no doubt of the sincerity of Otis's protestations of loyalty to England: "We all think ourselves happy under Great Britain. We love, esteem, and reverence our mother country and adore our king. And could the choice of independency be offered the colonies, or subjection to Great Britain upon any terms above absolute slavery, I am convinced they would accept the latter. The ministry, in all future generations, may rely on it, that British America will never prove undutiful, till driven to it, as the last fatal resort against ministerial oppression, which will make the wisest mad and the weakest strong."

While such was the purpose of the pamphlet, the

1 7 6 4

Representation
and Taxation

Purpose

Effect

1 7 6 4 effect was "to furnish the starting-point for the entire movement of revolutionary reasoning, by which some two millions of people were to justify themselves in the years to come, as they advanced along their rugged and stormy path toward Independence. It became for a time one of the legal text-books of the opponents of the ministry; it was a law-arsenal, from which other combatants, on that side, drew some of their best weapons. It expounded with perfect clearness, even if with some shrinking, the constitutional philosophy of the whole subject; and it gave to the members of a conservative and a law-respecting race, a conservative and a lawful pretext for resisting law, and for revolutionizing the government."

Oxenbridge
Thacher

September,
1764

About two months after the appearance of Otis's pamphlet, there appeared at Boston a quieter one entitled *The Sentiments of a British American*, and written by Oxenbridge Thacher, a Harvard graduate who, lacking strength of voice, had given up the ministry for the practice of law. Within his "fragile and invalided form there glowed a fiery spirit, intense in opinion, jealous and anxious for the right, and ready at any cost to contend against the arms or the arts of evil." Assuming that the British parliament intended to be just to the British colonies, he raised the inquiry whether the recent act "for granting certain duties in the British colonies" had overstepped the line of justice toward those colonies, and launched his calm and lawyer-like argument against what he felt to be a mistaken and disastrous policy.

In the Middle
Colonies

In the same year, a pamphlet, *Essay on the Trade of the Northern Colonies of Great Britain in North America*, was printed at Philadelphia and reprinted at London. "With ingenuity, candor, and force it shows that the industrial interests of the whole British empire, and the prosperity of all British subjects would be improved by taking off, rather than increasing, these tax restrictions on the American colonial trade." Still another pamphlet, *Some Thoughts on the Method of Improving and Securing the Advantages which accrue to Great Britain from the Northern Colonies*, was published in a New

York newspaper in 1764 and republished in England in 1765. Dealing only with the impolicy of the ministerial measures, it was so wise and persuasive that Professor Tyler says that "had the brain of George Grenville and of George the Third been capable of absorbing it, there would have been no American Revolution."

Although these four pamphlets of 1764 were published after the adoption of Grenville's declaratory resolves, not one of them contains any allusion to the stamp act. The sole occasion of colonial alarm seems to have been the passage of the sugar act in April. In August, the earl of Halifax called upon each colonial governor for "a list of all instruments made use of in public transactions . . . within your government, with proper and sufficient descriptions of the same; in order that, if Parliament should think proper to pursue the intention of the aforesaid [Grenville] resolutions, they may thereby be enabled to carry it into execution in the most effectual and least burdensome manner." Soon after this, the significance of the coming stamp act began to dawn upon the American people, "and then, almost at once, the centre of gravity shifted from the immediate past to the immediate future,"—from the measure that had become a law to the measure that might become a law.

Looking
Forward

On the tenth of November, the *Providence Gazette* printed what purported to be an account of a dream concerning "this queer news about a stamping law," one of the few enjoyable specimens of colonial comic writing. In the following month, a remarkable pamphlet appeared at Providence, "published by authority." Although the name of the author was not thereon printed, *The Rights of the Colonies Examined* was well known to be the work of Stephen Hopkins, then governor of Rhode Island—and elected by the people. After the customary investigation into the origin of society, etc., he considers the various measures recently enacted and then impending as the causes of "great uneasiness and consternation." As to the stamp act, the mere announcement of it "hath much more, and for much more reason, alarmed the

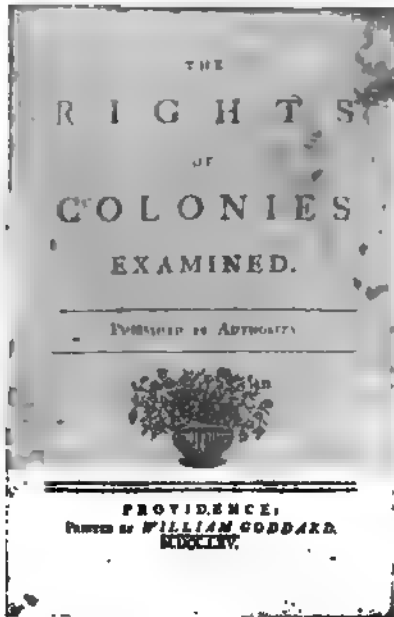
The Dream

December 22

Stephen
Hopkins

I 7 6 4

1764 British subjects in America than anything that had ever been done before! . . . For it must be confessed by



Title-page of Stephen Hopkins's Pamphlet

all men that they who are taxed at pleasure by others cannot possibly have any property; . . . they who have no property can have no freedom. . . . Free people have ever thought, and always will think, that the money necessary for their own defense lies safest in their own hands until it is wanted immediately for that purpose." It is unfair to denounce as unseemly the loud outcry now raised in the colonies, for as Dean Swift says, "a man on a wreck was never denied the liberty of roaring as loud as he could." This

"strong and sober-minded pamphlet," an even better statement of the colonial position than Otis's pamphlet of similar title, was reprinted in nearly all the colonies, and, even in England, its temperate and conciliatory tone "carried conviction to many minds that would have been repelled by the brusqueness and asperity of Otis."

The Germ of Nullification

In all this volume of protest, there was neither talk nor thought of separation. We must be careful not to read back the ideas and aspirations of a later time into a period when those ideas and aspirations were as yet unborn. The Americans of 1764, with all their independent spirit, loved the mother country, venerated its traditions and institutions, gloried in their connection with it, and could hardly imagine a policy so grievous as to force them to walk alone. In matters of political freedom, they were more English than Englishmen at

home, and more keenly alive to their rights and privileges; but they had seen no reason to believe that vigorous protest against what they regarded as unjust laws would long go unheeded. But permeating all these avowedly loyal discussions were the germs of a "pestilent political heresy"—the doctrine of nullification.

In opposition to this incipient heresy, Martin Howard took up his pen—our first American loyalist writer. Howard was an eminent lawyer of Newport and had served with Stephen Hopkins as a Rhode Island delegate to the Albany congress of 1754. Unfortunately, he attempted to conceal his identity and published his pamphlet at Newport under the title of *A Letter from a Gentleman at Halifax, To His Friend in Rhode Island*. This pamphlet, "not lacking in sarcasm and yet never abusive or unparliamentary," was so able and impressive that it could not be ignored. In the lower house of the Rhode Island general assembly, the deputy-governor asked that it be taken into consideration, and others demanded that it be burned by the common hangman. Of course, there were replies by Hopkins and by Otis, against whom the Halifax Gentleman retorted in a second and final pamphlet. The interesting story of this campaign of the pamphleteers, told in greater detail than is here possible, may be read in Professor Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution*, a wholly admirable work upon which I have drawn freely. Although the Halifax Gentleman was able to hold his own with his opponents, Martin Howard was no match for the Newport mob, which hanged and burned him in effigy, and, on the evening of the following day, destroyed his house and treated him with personal violence. Fearing for his life, Howard "took shelter in the *Signet* man of war and soon after departed for Great Britain"—the first of many who thus suffered because their convictions could not be reconciled with those of the devotees of "liberty."

Governor Bernard in his *Principles of Law and Polity* urged upon the ministry the abolition of the colonial charters, the reorganization of the colonial governments

The Halifax
Gentleman

February,
1765

August 27,
1765

Governor
Bernard's
Pamphlet

1 7 6 4

1 7 6 4 on a uniform plan, an American nobility and independent
 1 7 6 5 civil list, and the provision of an adequate revenue.

An Official
 Characteriza-
 tion

When the Massachusetts general court met again in October, 1764, a memorial to the house of commons and a letter to the London agent, both drawn by Thomas Hutchinson, the conservative chief-justice of the province, were approved, though not without the opposition of the more radical members of the house; in short, it was a compromise between the courtly council and the ardent patriots of the house. Although a recent order in council had clipped what is now Vermont from New Hampshire and given it to New York, the memorial of the New York assembly deprecated "the loss of such rights as they had hitherto enjoyed" and the certainty of consequent "discord, poverty, and slavery." These documents and Otis's pamphlet were soon laid before the king by the board of trade. In their letter of transmission, the board said: "We humbly conceive that in this letter the acts and resolutions of the legislature of Great Britain are treated with the most indecent disrespect, principles of the most dangerous nature and tendency openly avowed, and the assemblies of other colonies invited in the most extraordinary manner to adopt the same opinions."

July 20, 1764

October,
 1764

The Passage
 of the Stamp
 Act

As the colonial assemblies suggested no alternative plan, Grenville, on the sixth of February, 1765, introduced his resolution for a stamp act. The resolution was agreed to and the bill itself was presented on the thirteenth. Petitions against the bill were refused consideration, it being contrary to the rules of the house of commons to receive petitions relating to money bills. Burke, who followed the debate from the gallery (he had not yet entered parliament), afterwards declared that he had never heard a more languid debate in the house. Pitt was ill and absent, and Conway, Beckford, and Barré seem to have been almost the only speakers in opposition. The bill passed the commons by a vote of two hundred and five to forty-nine, while in the house of lords there was no division. As the

king was then insane, the royal assent was given by 1765 commission on the twenty-second of March.

In a report printed in the *Boston Post-Boy and Advertiser*, Jared Ingersoll, the colonial agent for Connecticut, represented Townshend as using these words: "These children of our own planting, nourished by our indulgence until they are grown to a good degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy load of national expense which we lie under?" When Townshend sat down, Colonel Isaac Barré, an Irish officer who was with Wolfe at Quebec, exclaimed: "Children planted by your care? No! Your oppression planted them in America. . . . They nourished up by your indulgence? They grew by your neglect of them. . . . They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defense.

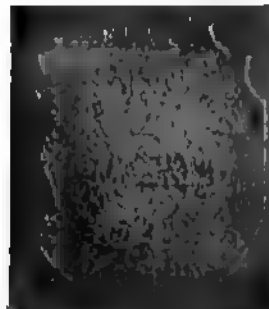
. . . The people there are as truly loyal, I believe, as any subjects the king has; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should be violated." A few months later, the Boston town-meeting ordered Barré's portrait hung in Faneuil Hall.

The stamp act required the use of stamps or stamped paper, ranging in price from threepence to ten pounds, for a great variety of legal documents, besides playing-cards, pamphlets, newspapers, almanacs, and advertisements. A bill of

A Friendly Voice
May 27



Isaac Barré



A Two-shilling Revenue Stamp of 1765

Provisions of the Stamp Act

1 7 6 5 lading, for example, was taxed fourpence; a retail liquor license, not including wines, twenty shillings, or three pounds if wine was included; a pack of cards, one shilling; a pair of dice, ten shillings; each advertisement in a newspaper, two shillings. Elaborate provisions for the enforcement of the act and the punishment of those who violated it were also made. Vice-admiralty courts without juries were given jurisdiction of offenses against the act and all other revenue or trade acts. The proceeds of the act, like those of the sugar act, were to be kept separate from other moneys in the treasury, and to be "from time to time disposed of by parliament, towards further defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said colonies and plantations." The act was to go into effect on the first day of November.

5 George III.
cap. 12

A Distracted
Public

In April, 1763, John Wilkes, a member of the house of commons, had published a bitter attack on the king's speech. For this, he was sent to the Tower; in May, he was discharged on a writ of habeas corpus; in January, 1764, he was expelled from the house. When the court of the king's bench entered judgment against him for libel, Wilkes fled to France and thereupon was outlawed. Wilkes seemed to have been morally worthless but he had attractive manners and could "abate and dissolve a pompous gentleman with singular felicity." His cleverness and wit made him a favorite with the people; his prosecution and outlawry made him a popular idol. With royal prerogative overriding the rights of the subject, the "Wilkes and Liberty" excitement largely held the attention of Englishmen in England, and the passage of the stamp act went almost unnoticed. In the contemporary correspondence of English statesmen like Walpole, Grenville, and Pitt, it was hardly mentioned and no one seemed to understand what a train was being laid. Even the agents of the colonies had no suspicion of the coming storm. Benjamin Franklin did not hesitate to mention a friend for appointment as stamp distributor and Richard Henry Lee sought such a place for himself.

Further to carry into effect the ministerial plans for the defense of the colonies, the annual mutiny act of 1765 "authorized the dispatch to the colonies of such troops as might be deemed necessary." For their accommodation, a quartering act was shortly passed, requiring the towns in the several colonies to provide suitable barracks or other quarters, and also to furnish, in certain cases, fire, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, cooking utensils, cider or rum, and wagons.

1765

The Quartering Act

5 George III. cap. 33

The passage of the stamp act became known in America in May. The first legislative answer came from the Old Dominion, where Patrick Henry introduced in the house of burgesses a series of resolutions declaring that "the General Assembly of this colony, together with his Majesty, or his substitutes, have, in their representative capacity, the only exclusive right and power to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatever than the General Assembly aforesaid is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American liberty." The resolutions were vigorously opposed and Henry supported them in an eloquent and fiery speech, in the midst of which he exclaimed: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third . . . ["Treason!" cried the speaker. "Treason! Treason!" cried loyal members.] may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." By a close vote, four of the six resolutions were adopted, the last by a majority of only one.

The Virginia Resolutions



Silver Top of the Mace used in the Virginia House of Burgesses until the Revolution (since then remodeled into a cup)

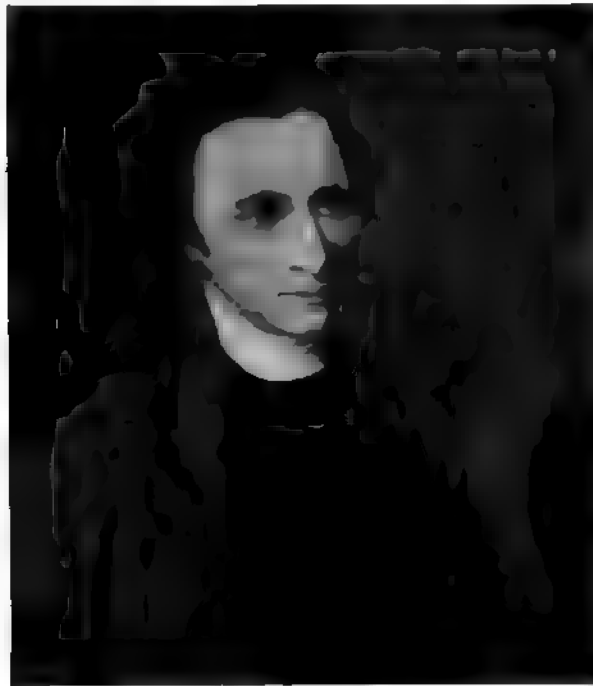
(Redrawn from copyrighted photograph by permission of Miss Edyth Carter Beveridge)

Treason!

May 30

1765
Aerial Poison

The publication of the Virginia resolutions was the signal for similar action elsewhere; as Governor Bernard aptly said, it "proved an alarm bell to the disaffected."



Henry

The hard fiber of New England Puritanism was a difficult soil in which to cultivate royal prerogative. "The religion most prevalent in our northern colonies," said Burke later, "is a refinement of the principle of resistance; which is the dissi-

May 27

dence of dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion." When the general court of Massachusetts met, the house of representatives refused the governor even the cold compliment of a formal answer to his speech; on the eighth of June, it issued a circular letter to the other colonies, proposing the appointment of committees to meet at New York on the first Tuesday in October, "to consult

together on the present circumstances of the colonies . . . and to consider of a general and united, dutiful, loyal, and humble representation of their condition to his Majesty and to the parliament, and to implore relief." The first assembly to reply was that of New Jersey, which declared itself "unanimously against uniting on the present occasion;" but the movement gathered headway as the Virginia resolves became known. As the summer of 1765 wore away, public sentiment crystallized and a policy of forcible resistance was begun.

In his speech against the stamp act, Barré had spoken of the Americans as "sons of liberty" who could defend their rights. The expression was sent over sea, aided in fanning the fire into flame, and became the favorite designation for voluntary associations that were organized, chiefly in New England and New York, for the purpose of intimidating the stamp distributors and preventing the

Sons of Liberty

The Proceedings of the SONS OF LIBERTY, *March 1, 1766.*

THE SONS OF LIBERTY of Baltimore County and Anne-Arundel County, met at the Court-House of the City of Annapolis, the first Day of March 1766.

On Motion made by a Son of Liberty, to appoint a Moderator and Secretary, the Reverend Andrew Leaden was chosen Moderator, and Mr. William Pace Secretary.

Mr. Joseph Nicholson, signifying to the Sons of Liberty, that he had an Address from the Sons of Liberty of Kent County, was introduced to the Sons of Liberty in Assembly met as aforesaid, and delivered the following Address, Adorited thus,

To the SONS OF LIBERTY, of Anne-Arundel and Baltimore Counties.

GENTLEMEN,

WE received your Favour directed to the Sons of Liberty of Yesterday's Date, Twelve o'Clock to Day, and in Consequence thereof, the Principal Inhabitants of this Place have had a Meeting, to consider of the Proposals therein made, and have *Unanimously Refused* to enter in an Association, to which also, they propose to invite all the Principal Inhabitants of this County, agreeable to the Spirit and Design of the Proposals made to them, that is, to join in, and give all Countenance to the Endeavours that shall be used, to induce the Officers to persevere in the Execution of their Duty, in the Distribution of Justice, and that we will cheerfully co-operate with, and second all just Endeavours made by our Fellow Subjects of the Colonies, to prevent the Execution of that most unconstitutional Act called the Stamp-Act; and that we will pursue every just and Necessary Method to oppose the Introduction of that, or any other oppressive, arbitrary, and illegal Measures ourselves.

We will also take Care to transmit Copies to our adjacent Counties. We shall be glad to be favoured with your Association, when completed, and the Paper you mention; and have deputed Mr. Nicholson, junior, to represent us to Morrow at your Meeting, at Annapolis, and to signify our Approbation of the Application intended by you, to the Officers at Annapolis.

The very short Notice we have had, will not permit any Thing further to be done before Mr. Nicholson goes away.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most humble Servants,

Wm. Ringgold,	Thos. Ringgold,
Benj. Binney,	Ja. Anderson,
Wm. Stephenson,	Thos. Sayth,
Wm. Bordley,	Wm. Murray,
Thos. Ringgold, junr.	Jos. Nicholson,
Jarvis James,	Geo. Garnett,
Jos. M. Hard,	S. Boardly, junr.
Gideon McCauley,	Ferg. Poffy,
Jos. Nicholson, junr.	Hen. Fennell,
David Fox,	Wm. Studley,
Ja. Porter,	John Baben,

On

Broadside issued by the Maryland Sons of Liberty

1 7 6 5 execution of the stamp act. The leaders of the Sons of Liberty were generally men of local prominence, but, in more cases than one, the membership included disorderly and lawless persons who cared nothing for the principles at issue, who could not feel the burden of the act even if it was enforced, and who had nothing to lose from the destruction of property and the open defiance of law. The influential classes refrained from active participation, but they did little to check the disorders and apparently were willing that mob rule should frustrate the purpose of parliament.

In the Sacred
Name of
Liberty

Among the distributors was Andrew Oliver of Massachusetts. On the fourteenth of August, he was hanged in effigy, between figures of Bute and Grenville, on the "Liberty Tree," a large elm that served as a rallying place for the Sons of Liberty of Boston. In the evening, a mob, shouting "Liberty, property, and no stamps!" tore down an unfinished building said to be intended as an office for the stamp distributor, and burned Oliver's effigy before the door of the helpless official. The next morning, Oliver publicly signed a pledge not to act as stamp distributor. Even these indignities did not spare him, for, on the day of the opening of parliament in December, he was compelled to march to the Liberty Tree and take an oath that he would not attempt to collect the stamp duties. On the twenty-sixth of August, the mansion of Chief-justice Hutchinson was looted, his plate and money were carried off, his valuable library and private papers thrown into the street, and himself and his family insulted and threatened with personal injury. Of all the violent scenes that marked the eve of the Revolution, this attack on Hutchinson was the most disgraceful. The Boston town-meeting expressed "abhorrence" of these proceedings, and voted that the selectmen and magistrates be desired to suppress like disorders in the future; but the rioters went unpunished.

Resignation

Lawless or law-abiding, the resistance was general and effective. In New Hampshire, the stamp distributor resigned rather than to stand the rising storm. In





Rhode Island, the attorney-general, Augustus Johnston, 1 7 6 5 who had been appointed distributor, hastened to announce that he would not "execute his office against the will of our sovereign lord, the people;" but, further to strengthen his good resolution, the populace dragged his effigy about the streets of Newport on a hurdle, and publicly hanged and burned it. Johnston prudently fled to an English armed vessel in the harbor. In Connecticut, Israel Putnam called on Governor Fitch to let him know the feeling of the people and to warn him that, if he refused admittance to the Sons of Liberty who were coming to destroy the stamps, his house would be pulled down in less than five minutes. Jared Ingersoll, persisting for a time in his determination to discharge the duties of distributor, was met by a crowd at Wethersfield, signed the proffered resignation, and, being escorted to Hartford, read the resignation before the assembly. The distributors in New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia resigned. At Philadelphia, John Hughes, a friend of Franklin, gave in his resignation at the demand of a mob. Although the demonstrations were less violent in other colonies than in Massachusetts, the arrival of the stamps and attempts to put the act into operation were everywhere the signal for outbreaks.

On the seventh of October, the stamp-act congress assembled in the old city hall at New York, the headquarters of General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. Lieutenant-governor Colden was determined to execute the stamp act, but he did not dare to interfere with the proceedings of the congress. Nine colonies—Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina—were represented by twenty-seven delegates variously appointed. Twenty-eight had been chosen; the absentee was Jacob Kollock, speaker of the Delaware assembly. Kollock, an old man, probably was detained by his physical infirmities, for he died in 1772, "in the 80th year of his age, after a long and tedious illness." From New Hampshire, Virginia,

The
Stamp-act
Congress

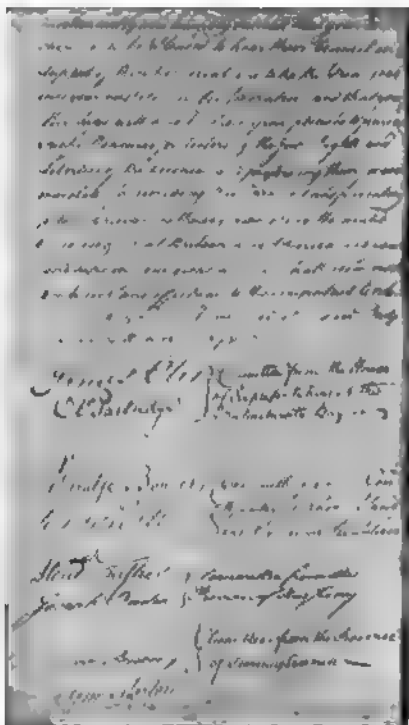


John Dickinson

1 7 6 5 eminence one over the other;" and it was agreed that each should have one vote.

Its Work The conclusions of the congress were embodied in four papers; a declaration of rights and grievances, a petition to the king, a memorial and petition to the house of lords, and a petition to the house of commons. The first two of these state papers were drafted by John Dickinson, a delegate from Pennsylvania, whose later distinguished services in like capacities earned him the title of the

North Carolina, and Georgia came unofficial messages of encouragement. Before the end of the session, a messenger arrived from Georgia to obtain a copy of the proceedings. On the roll of delegates are found the names of some of the most distinguished Americans of the time. Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts was chosen speaker, and James Otis became the leading spirit. Notwithstanding the great difference in area and population, the colonies stood "without the least claim of pre-



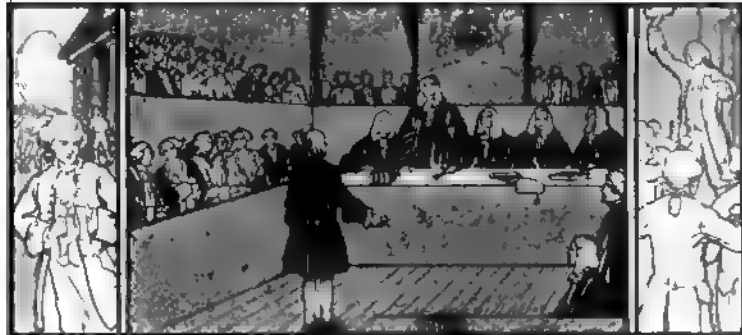
Last Page of the Petition to the House of Lords

"penman of the Revolution." Ruggles, the speaker, 1765
refused to sign the declaration, for which he was later
censured by the Massachusetts house of representatives.
The congress adjourned on the twenty-fifth of October.

Of the four papers, the declaration of rights and
grievances, as the first authoritative statement of the case
for the colonies, is the most important. It proclaims the
duty of colonial allegiance to the crown of Great Britain;
claims, as "the undoubted rights of Englishmen, that no
taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent,"
and asks for the repeal of the stamp act, "and of the
other late acts for the restriction of American commerce."
The text of this document is printed in the appendix to
this volume. From the ground therein taken, no advance
was made until 1776.

Its
Resolutions





C H A P T E R I V

THE REPEAL OF THE STAMP ACT —THE MASON-DIXON LINE

Internal and
External
Taxation

IT will be convenient at this point to examine briefly the claims of the colonies as set forth in the resolutions of the stamp-act congress, in order to see exactly for what privileges the colonial leaders were contending. The only thing that was arraigned as unwarranted in law was the stamp act, and this for the reason that the act was an attempt to tax the colonies through a body in which they were not and could not be represented. The authority of parliament to legislate in regard to the trade of the colonies was not denied, although the new regulations were objected to as grievous burdens, certain to work disaster to American industry and to impoverish the people. When, however, parliament sought to step into a colony and to lay taxes upon its property or its internal business, the right of Englishmen to be represented in that body was affirmed as an ancient and inalienable privilege that might not be infringed.

The
Difference
Between
Them

We have here the alleged distinction between internal and external taxation of which a good deal was heard in the discussions that preceded the Revolution. According to this theory, parliament, in pursuance of its general legislative authority over the whole empire, might regulate the trade of the colonies, but might not tax their internal transactions or property. Trade regulation might, of course, take the form of import or export duties,

port charges, or other similar exactions; but so long as the main purpose was regulation and not revenue—as had been the case with the navigation acts—the principle of “no taxation without representation” was not violated, even though some revenue was incidentally produced. But when a tax was laid for the express purpose of raising a revenue the case was different; for here the colonists themselves were entitled to a voice. As matters stood, that voice could be raised only in the colonial assemblies, for representation in parliament could hardly be regarded as feasible with that body three thousand miles away. It was true that parliamentary representation in England at this time was grossly inequitable, large masses of the people having no representatives at all in the house of commons; but that did not alter either the legal or the political theory, or impair the time-honored and hard-won right of the people as a whole to determine, through their representatives, how their money should be spent.

It is clear enough now, as it was clear to some in both England and America then, that the colonial contention was not wholly sound. The alleged distinction between internal and external taxation certainly had no foundation in law or political science, however much the legislation of parliament may have seemed to recognize it. The main question was as to the right of parliament to tax the colonies at all, not as to the right to tax them in this way or that way. That parliament had complete legislative control of the colonies, in internal as well as external matters, was the matured opinion of the best English and American lawyers. The practical question, however, was not of abstract right, but of expediency. The fatal mistake of George III. and his subservient ministers was in attempting to maintain a right the assertion of which could have no other effect than to irritate the colonies and to incite them to resistance. The legal pretensions of the Americans were ill founded, but the conduct of Great Britain was impolitic to the point of madness.

An
Ill-founded
Distinction

The stamp act was to go into effect on the first of November, 1765. In the colonies, the day was marked

An Inopera-
tive Act



FIRST PAGE OF THE "PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL AND WEEKLY ADVERTISER,"
ISSUE OF OCTOBER 31, 1865
(From an original in the New York Public Library, Emmet Collection)

by the closing of shops and the tolling of bells, and by mock funeral processions followed in some cases by riot and disorder. In New York, the people gathered about the fort and demanded the surrender of the stamps. Governor Colden was burned in effigy and compelled to leave the stamps with the city officials for safe-keeping. The stamps intended for Connecticut were taken from a vessel and burned. In Rhode Island, Governor Ward refused to take the oath to carry out the provisions of the act, the only one of the colonial governors thus to resist. Governor Fitch of Connecticut did take the oath and, in consequence, failed of reelection. Similar demonstrations were made in other colonies. "Liberty, property, and no stamps!" was the popular cry. When the first of November arrived, no stamps were to be had. After a few weeks of uncertainty and hesitation, business was resumed much as before. The stamp act did not become operative in any of what we call the thirteen colonies except South Carolina and Georgia, and it was not long-continued there.

Early in November, some of the leading citizens of New York, headed by Isaac Sears, formed a committee of correspondence. Its members agreed to sign all letters with their several names and to open a correspondence with all the colonies. Philadelphia was relied upon to forward letters to the South, and Boston to forward letters to New Hampshire. As a tangible form of protest against the obnoxious acts, an agreement not to import any more British goods until the stamp act was repealed was also made. Later, a non-consumption agreement was added, and orders already sent to England were countermanded. Similar agreements were subsequently made in Boston and elsewhere and coercive measures became popular. Further to show that the Americans could live without stamps, patriots agreed to encourage American manufactures, to use American cloth, and to increase the supply of wool by giving up the eating of mutton.

A Non-
importation
Agreement

October 28,
1767

Meantime, there had been a change of ministry in

1 7 6 5
The
Rockingham
Ministry

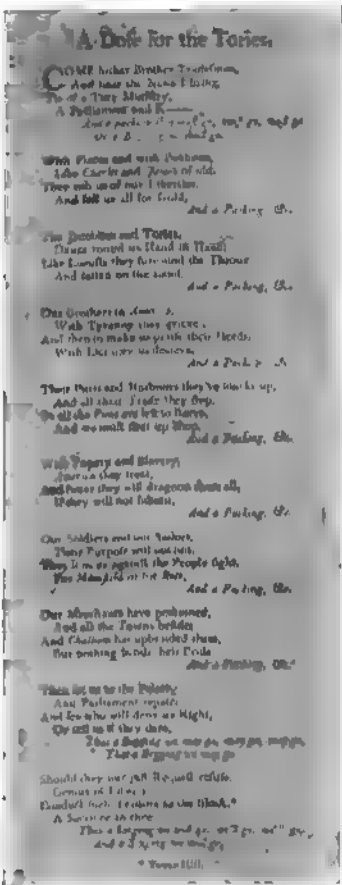
Great Britain. When Grenville took office, in April, 1763, the Whig party was divided into three groups. The largest part, comprising those who had followed the duke of Newcastle, now accepted the leadership of Rockingham and further distinguished themselves by abandoning the bribery and corruption through which Newcastle had controlled the government. A second group followed the duke of Bedford and let it be known that they could be bought as a body, but not individually. The third faction followed Grenville. Grenville had quarrelled with Pitt whom the king hated, and had supported Bute whom the king liked; naturally enough, when Newcastle resigned, the king chose Grenville as the prime minister. The good feeling between the king and the premier was, however, of short duration, ill will being bred by the disrespect of Grenville and intensified by the failing mental powers of the king. In July, 1765, Grenville gave way to Rockingham. Conway, who had opposed the stamp act, and the duke of Grafton were the new secretaries of state. The ministry was weak; Townshend called it a "lute-string administration, fit only for summer wear." Pitt, the ablest man then in public life, refused to take office, having no more respect for the Rockingham Whigs than had the king himself. The change promised well for the colonies, however, and doubtless encouraged them in their resistance to the stamp act.

English
Opinion
October 24

Reports of the violent proceedings in America reached England some weeks before the opening of parliament. Conway, in a circular letter to the governors, urged them to "do their utmost to maintain law and order," and to that end authorized them to "call upon the military and naval commanders, if necessary." Public opinion in England was divided. The land tax of four shillings in the pound was yielding a revenue of about two million pounds sterling per annum, but Grenville had given assurances that, by the end of two years after the close of the war, the tax should be reduced to three shillings. The landed proprietors, restless under the continued tax, demanded the enforcement of the stamp act. On the

other hand, the commercial and manufacturing towns, alarmed at the loss of trade resultant from the colonial policy of non-intercourse, wished the act repealed. In the Rockingham ministry there was division of opinion. The prime minister, says Bancroft, "declared himself ready to repeal a hundred stamp acts rather than run the risk of such confusion as would be caused by enforcing one." Yet, on the twelfth of December, a committee of merchants was told that "the right to tax Americans could never be given up" and that "a suspension of the act was the most that could be expected."

Parliament assembled on the seventeenth of December. The news from America as submitted by Secretary Conway was alarming. Grenville moved an address to the king, hoping thereby to secure an immediate consideration of American affairs, for which he knew the ministry was not prepared. The subject was laid over, however, until after the holidays. Parliament reassembled on the fourteenth of January, 1766. On the seventeenth, petitions urging the repeal of the stamp act were presented from the merchants of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, and other trading and manufacturing towns, and from Virginia and Georgia. The debate on the address to the king was stormy. The ministry had asked



Broadside of Verses: "A Dose for the Tories"

In Parliament

The Petitions of the Merchants

1 7 6 6 for confidence. Pitt, who appeared in the house of commons after an absence of a year, turned to them with a courteous smile and said: "Pardon me, gentlemen, confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom, youth is the season of credulity." Calling attention to the fact that when the stamp act was passed, he was ill in bed, he declared that, in his opinion, Great Britain had no right to lay a tax on the colonies without their consent. The Americans "are the subjects of this kingdom—equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen—and equally bound by its laws. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. . . . There is an idea in some that the colonies are virtually represented in this house. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? . . . The idea of a virtual representation of America in this house is the most contemptible idea that ever entered into the head of man; it does not deserve a serious refutation!"

The Speech of
William Pitt

Burke,
Conway, and
Grenville

In this debate, Edmund Burke, who had just entered parliament, made his maiden speech. Conway, the ministerial leader in the house, declared his agreement with the opinions expressed by the "great commoner," and forecast the action of the ministry by declaring that "such were the sentiments also of most, if not of all, the king's servants." Grenville followed with an elaborate and masterly defense of his own policy, denying that taxation and representation went together and affirming, with an obvious allusion to Pitt, that "the seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purpose of opposition."

Pitt for
Repeal

The rules of the house of commons forbade a member to speak twice in the same debate, but Pitt, stung by Grenville's insinuation, sprang to his feet, and the house, accepting his pretext that he intended only to offer an omitted portion of his former speech, allowed him to go on. "The gentleman tells us," he exclaimed, "America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebel-

lion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three mil- 1 7 6 6
 lions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as
 voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit
 instruments to make slaves of the rest. . . . Our
 legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and
 supreme, . . . but there is a plain distinction
 between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue,
 and duties imposed for the regulation of trade. . . .
 The Americans have not acted in all things with prudence
 and temper. . . . They have been driven to mad-
 ness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness
 you have occasioned? . . . I will beg leave to tell
 the house what is really my opinion. It is that the stamp
 act be *repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately*. . . .
 At the same time, let the sovereign authority of this
 country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms
 as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point
 of legislation whatsoever. That we may bind their *trade*,
 confine their *manufactures*, and exercise every *power* what-
 soever, except that of taking their money out of their
 pockets without their consent."

Benjamin Franklin, who had been laboring earnestly
 to bring about a repeal or modification of the stamp act,
 was interrogated at the bar of the house of commons in
 regard to conditions in the colonies. Franklin's high
 repute as a scientist and man of letters gave him great
 influence among the cultivated classes in England, while
 his position as deputy postmaster-general for North
 America lent official weight to his words. To the question,
 "Do you think it right America should be protected by
 this country, and pay us no part of the expense?" Frank-
 lin answered, "That is not the case. The colonies raised,
 clothed, and paid, during the last war, near twenty-five
 thousand men, and spent many millions." "Were you
 not reimbursed by parliament?" "We were reimbursed
 what, in your opinion, we had advanced beyond our pro-
 portion, or beyond what might be reasonably expected
 from us; and it was a very small part of what we spent."
 "Do not you think the people of America would submit

The
 Examination
 of Franklin,
 January 28

1 7 6 6 to pay the stamp duty, if it was moderated?" "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms." "If the stamp act should be repealed, would it induce the assemblies of America to acknowledge the right of parliament to tax them, and would they erase their resolutions?" "No, never." "Is there no means of obliging them to erase those resolutions?" "None that I know of; they will never do it unless compelled by force of arms."

The Stamp
Act Repealed

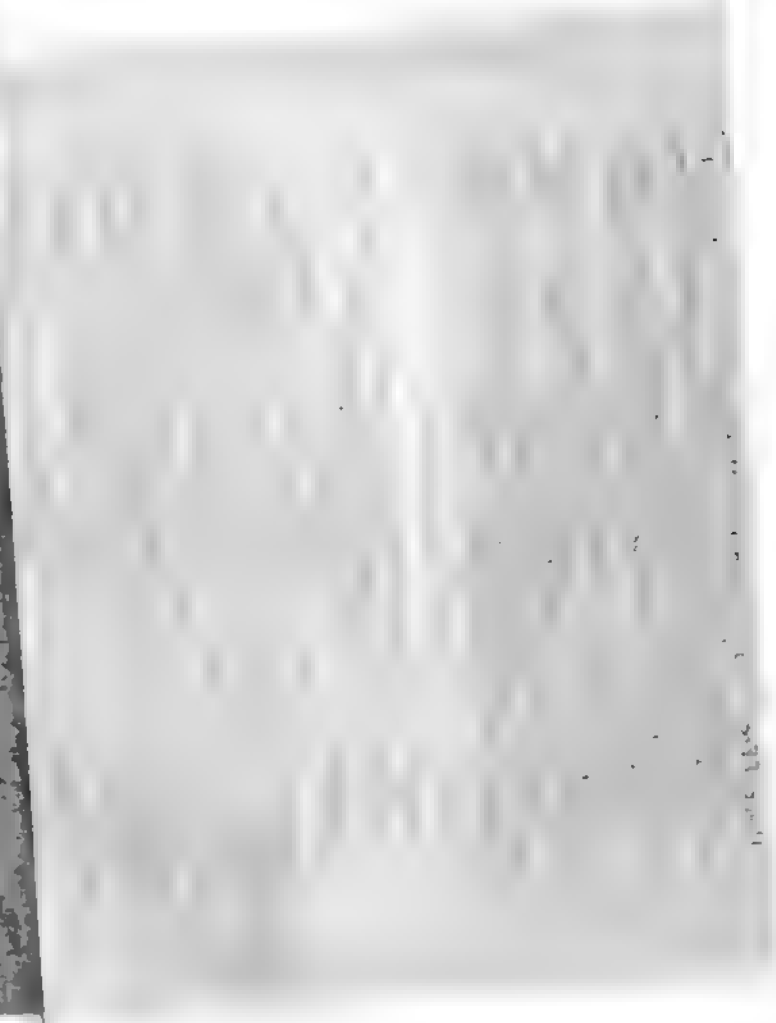
The withdrawal of the stamp act was inevitable. Early in February, the house of lords, by a narrow majority, declared in favor of the execution of the act, but a similar proposition in the commons was buried under an adverse vote of more than two to one. On the twelfth, the king let it be known that he would approve a modification of the act. But it was out of the question to modify it; the act must stand or fall as it was. On the fourth of March, a repeal bill passed the lower house. In spite of violent opposition, it passed the house of lords on the seventeenth and received royal assent on the following day. The stamp act had been on the statute book a little less than one year, and nominally in force less than five months.

6 George III.
cap. 11

A Declaratory
Act

With the act of repeal went a short statute regarding the legislative authority of parliament over the colonies. "Whereas"—so runs this declaratory act—"several of the houses of representatives in his Majesty's colonies and plantations in America, have of late, against law, claimed to themselves, or to the general assemblies of the same, the sole and exclusive right of imposing duties and taxes upon his Majesty's subjects in the said colonies and plantations; and have, in pursuance of such claim, passed certain votes, resolutions, and orders, derogatory to the legislative authority of parliament, and inconsistent with the dependency of the said colonies and plantations upon the crown of Great Britain; . . . be it declared . . . That the said colonies and plantations in America have been, are, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the imperial crown and parliament of Great Britain; and that the King's

Glorious News.





majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, *in all cases whatsoever.*" 1 7 6 6

In communicating to the colonial governors information of the repeal of the stamp act and the passage of the declaratory act, Conway expressed the hope that "the moderation, the forbearance, the unexampled lenity and tenderness of Parliament towards the colonies" which the action "so signally displayed" would dispose the colonies "to that return of cheerful obedience to the Laws and Legislative authority of Great Britain, and to those sentiments of respectful gratitude to the Mother Country, which are the natural, and, I trust, will be the certain effects of so much grace and condescension." The governors were urged to recommend strongly to the assemblies that, as a fitting way of showing the restoration of good feeling, "full and ample compensation be made to those who, from the Madness of the people, have suffered for their deference to Acts of the British Legislature;" while the governors themselves were to be "particularly attentive that such persons be effectually secured from any further insults." The suggestion of the secretary of state was promptly acted upon in New York, where royalist sentiment was strong. The Massachusetts legislature caused the governor more trouble; although it yielded in the end, it insisted upon including in its act a free pardon to the rioters. The conduct of Massachusetts made a bad impression in England and tended to strengthen rather than allay the feeling of suspicion and dislike with which the colony was regarded.

Conway's
Instructions

The news of the repeal was received with joy on both sides of the ocean. Burke described the repeal as "an event that caused more universal joy throughout the British dominions than any other that can be remembered;" and, eight years later, declared that "so sudden

Colonial
Happiness

1766 a calm after so violent a storm is without a parallel in history." Mercantile and manufacturing England hoped for the abandonment of the non-importation agreements and a revival of colonial trade and business prosperity. In America, joy was unbounded and loyalty burst forth afresh. Statues to George III. were voted in Virginia and New York, the latter colony adding a similar honor to Pitt. Maryland also voted a statue to Pitt and ordered a portrait of Lord Camden. Portraits of Barré and Conway were hung in Faneuil Hall. In New York, the rejoicing citizens erected a



Fragment of the Statue of William Pitt in New York



Large Lantern that hung on the Liberty Tree at the illumination in honor of the Repeal of the Stamp Act



George III.



Queen Charlotte

liberty pole and, in hogsheads of punch, drank to the health of the king. In Philadelphia, the king's birthday was celebrated by the Quakers in new suits of British manufacture, the old homespun garments being given to the poor. "As, in 1765, through the bond of a common fear, the thirteen colonies had been brought for the first time into some sort of union, so in 1766, that union was for a while prolonged through the bond of a common joy."

Just what had been accomplished by a year of agitation was a matter to which few Americans then gave much thought. The stamp act had been repealed, but the right of parliament to legislate for the colonies "in all cases whatsoever" had been for the first time asserted. Opinion differed as to the legal justification of the declaratory act. "My position is this," said Lord Camden in the house of lords, "I repeat it; I will maintain it to the last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable. The position is founded in the law of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature." Pitt, on the other hand, while urging the repeal of the stamp act, had announced the doctrine of the declaratory resolve; yet Pitt was honored by statues and by resolutions of thanks. Filled with rejoicing at the abandonment of the hated tax and convinced that parliament had bowed before their united resistance, the Americans ignored the declaration with which the repeal had been accompanied as little more than a formal pronouncement to save the dignity of parliament. Lecky, the English historian, says that "the Americans had in truth won a great victory, which inspired them with unbounded confidence in their strength. They had gone through all the excitement of a violent and brilliantly successful political campaign; they had realized for a time the union which appeared formerly so chimerical; they had found their natural leaders in the struggle, and had discovered the weakness of the mother country."

A
Questionable
Victory

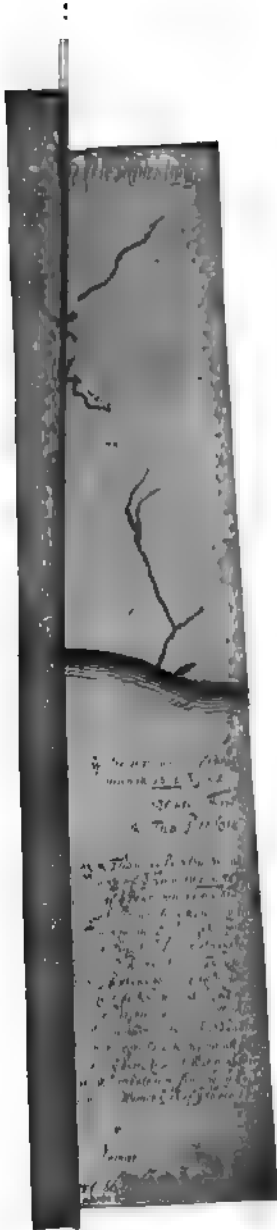
The story of the earlier phases of the long-continued contest over the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line

I 7 0 1 has been told in the second and third volumes of this
 I 7 6 3 history, but the quarrel was still open and was complicated by troubles that pertained to the boundaries of Delaware. In 1701, William Penn commissioned Isaac Taylor and Thomas Pierson to run the arc of the twelve mile circle as the boundary between the counties of Chester and New Castle. The surveyors used a radius of nearly thirteen miles instead of twelve. In 1732, there was an agreement upon an east and west line across the peninsula between Chesapeake Bay and the Atlantic Ocean; a part of this line was to be the southern boundary of Delaware. From the middle of this base line was to be drawn a line tangent to the famous circular arc drawn twelve miles from New Castle; this line was to be the western boundary of Delaware. From this point of tangency a line was to be run due north until it cut a line drawn due west from a point fifteen miles south of the most southerly part of Philadelphia. The point of the intersection of this meridian and this parallel was to be the northeast corner of Maryland. From this point, the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line was to be run due west. All of this might be easily done upon parchment but the attempt to fix the lines in the disputed territory led to serious difficulties and protracted litigation. In 1760, a new deed was executed, substantially the same as that of 1732. In accordance with the agreement, commissioners were appointed, surveyors were employed, and the work of fixing the boundaries was begun. After three years of crude work, the surveyors suspended their labors and the proprietors employed two skilled mathematicians to assist the commissioners.

October,
1763

Mason and
Dixon's Line

The experts thus engaged were two Englishmen, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. They landed at Philadelphia on the fifteenth of November, 1763, and for the next four years were engaged in running the line that still bears their names, a line the name of which was for fifty years oftener in men's mouths than that of any other "line, real or imaginary, on the surface of the earth—not excepting even the equator and the equinoctial."



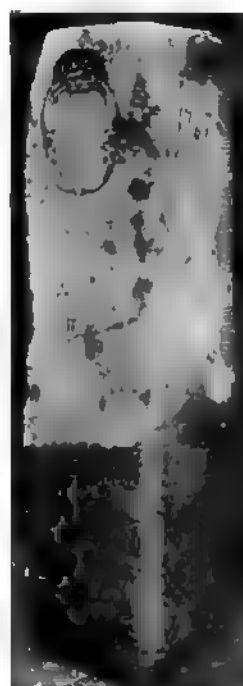
PENNERVEY THE

by

They ran the tangential line between Maryland and Delaware but they stretched the twelve mile radius from the New Castle court-house more than a hundred feet and thus shaved a thin slice from the domain that had been given to Lord Baltimore. They also placed their main parallel more than four hundred feet too far south and thus gave Pennsylvania more than nine thousand acres that belonged to Maryland. As the line was run, a "visto" eight yards wide was cut through the forest. At intervals of a mile, the line was marked with stones that bore the letter M marked on the southern face and the letter P on the face opposite, excepting that every fifth stone had carved thereon the arms of the respective proprietors. After they had run the westward line to within about thirty-six miles of its western end at the meridian prescribed by the Pennsylvania charter, they were peremptorily stopped by the Six Nations; they then returned to Philadelphia and received honorable discharges. The rest of the line was run by other parties.

The work done by Mason and Dixon brought to an end the long dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland concerning their boundary, but it did not fix the boundary between Pennsylvania and her lower counties. When, at the beginning of the Revolution, Delaware became an independent state, her northern boundary was the inaccurate line surveyed by Taylor and Pierson in 1701. This line had not been surveyed by Mason and Dixon, it had never been properly marked, parts of it were lost, and local tradition assumed that Pennsylvania territory did not extend south of the north-

1 7 6 3
1 7 6 7

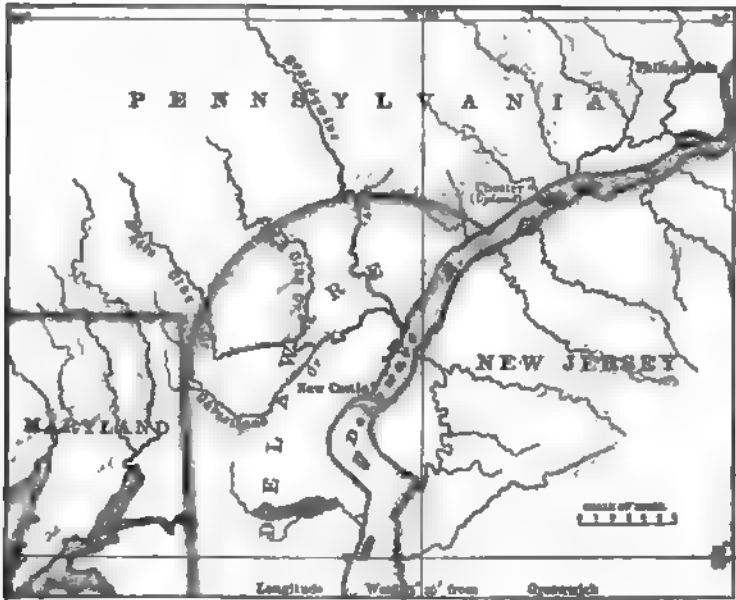


December 26,
1767

The Flatiron

One of the Stones marking
the Pennsylvania and
Maryland Boundary

1767 east corner of Maryland, which was locally regarded as
1849 the meeting point of the three states. The result was



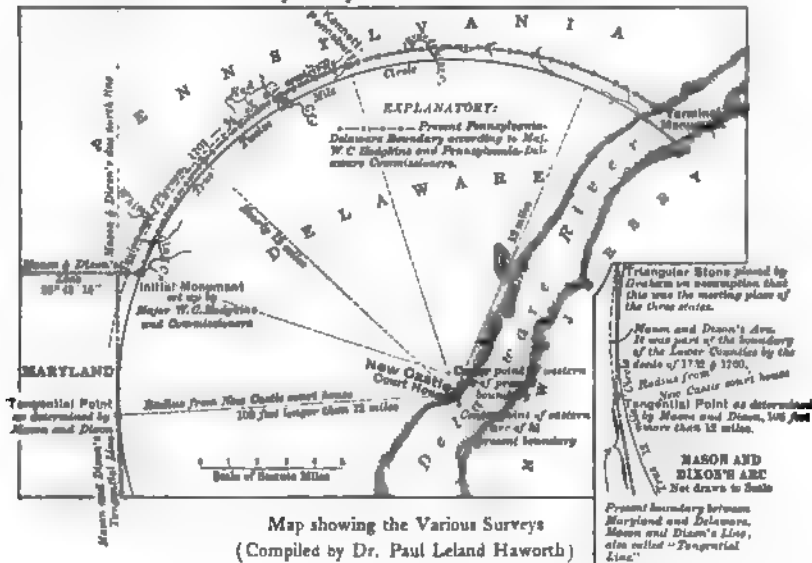
The Topography of the Region

that land titles in the section called the "Flatiron"—a strip so thin at its southern end that "the ball of one's foot may be in Maryland, and the heel in Delaware, while the instep forms an arch over a portion of the Keystone State"—were recorded in Delaware in which state the inhabitants voted and paid taxes.

Looking
Forward

In 1849, Colonel J. D. Graham of the United States topographical engineers, acting under the auspices of a joint commission composed of representatives from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, restored the stone that had disappeared from the northeast corner of Maryland, then regarded as marking a point common to the three states. He also placed new granite posts at the tangent point, at the middle point of the arc north of the tangent point, and at the point where this arc as laid out by Mason and Dixon cut the due-north line. This last

mentioned point he assumed was the true junction of the three states, entirely ignoring the line of 1701. This arrangement was not approved by the Delaware legislature; the maps still "showed Pennsylvania reaching a slender finger to the southward between Delaware and Maryland, but Delaware continued to exercise complete jurisdiction over that area." Thus the situation continued until 1889, when Delaware and Pennsylvania appointed commissioners to adjust the boundary. As the old line drawn by Taylor and Pierson had been lost,



and as no single circle could be made to satisfy the conditions imposed, a compound curve such as appears upon the accompanying map was laid out by Major W. C. Hodgkins of the United States coast survey in 1892. The Pennsylvania commissioners agreed to prolong the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland eastward to the circular boundary and to surrender the "Flatiron" to Delaware. From the northeast corner of Maryland to Delaware Bay the Hodgkins line was marked with stone monuments placed at short intervals. This line was ratified by the Pennsylvania

1908 legislature, but thus far no such action has been taken by the Delaware legislature or by congress. Meanwhile, Delaware continues to exercise jurisdiction over the "Flatiron."





C H A P T E R V

T H E T O W N S H E N D A C T S

THANKS to colonial resistance, the stamp act had proved to be only a menace; it was not enforced and had been repealed. But no decisive victory over parliament had been won. The labored distinction between external and internal taxes lifted little more than the threatening shadow and left the hated substance. With the exception of the sugar act, all of the navigation and trade laws were in force as fully as ever, their underlying principle had been formally asserted, and the ministry was about to address itself to the embodiment of the principle of parliamentary right in a new form.

An
Incomplete
Victory

The enforcement of the trade laws meant diminished profits for Boston merchants. Not only were vessels and cargoes seized and condemned, but the governor shared in the profits of forfeiture. Bernard's official conduct, accordingly, became a subject of suspicion. When the general court convened, the governor mingled congratulations on the repeal of the stamp act with references to "the fury of the people." Not until December did the legislature grant compensation to those who had suffered in the stamp-act riots, and the grant was accompanied with an assurance to the governor that it was of their own "free and good will" and not from "deference to a requisition" and with a general pardon for the offenders.

Massachusetts
Sullen

May, 1766

In August, 1766, Pitt was elevated to the peerage with the title of earl of Chatham—a step that seriously

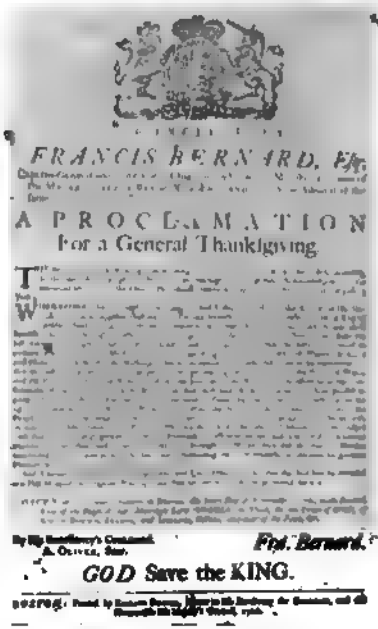
1766 weakened his influence and popularity in both England and America. Lord Chesterfield could not understand why he was willing to “go into that hospital of incurables, the House of Lords,” and characterized the change as a “fall up stairs—a fall which did Pitt so much damage that he will never be able to stand upon his legs again.” Early in the same month, Pitt became the nominal head of the ministry. With him in the cabinet were the duke of Grafton, Lord Camden, Townshend, Conway, and the earl of Shelburne—an unstable balancing of coercive and conciliatory forces, and, as Burke later said, “a very curious show but utterly unsafe



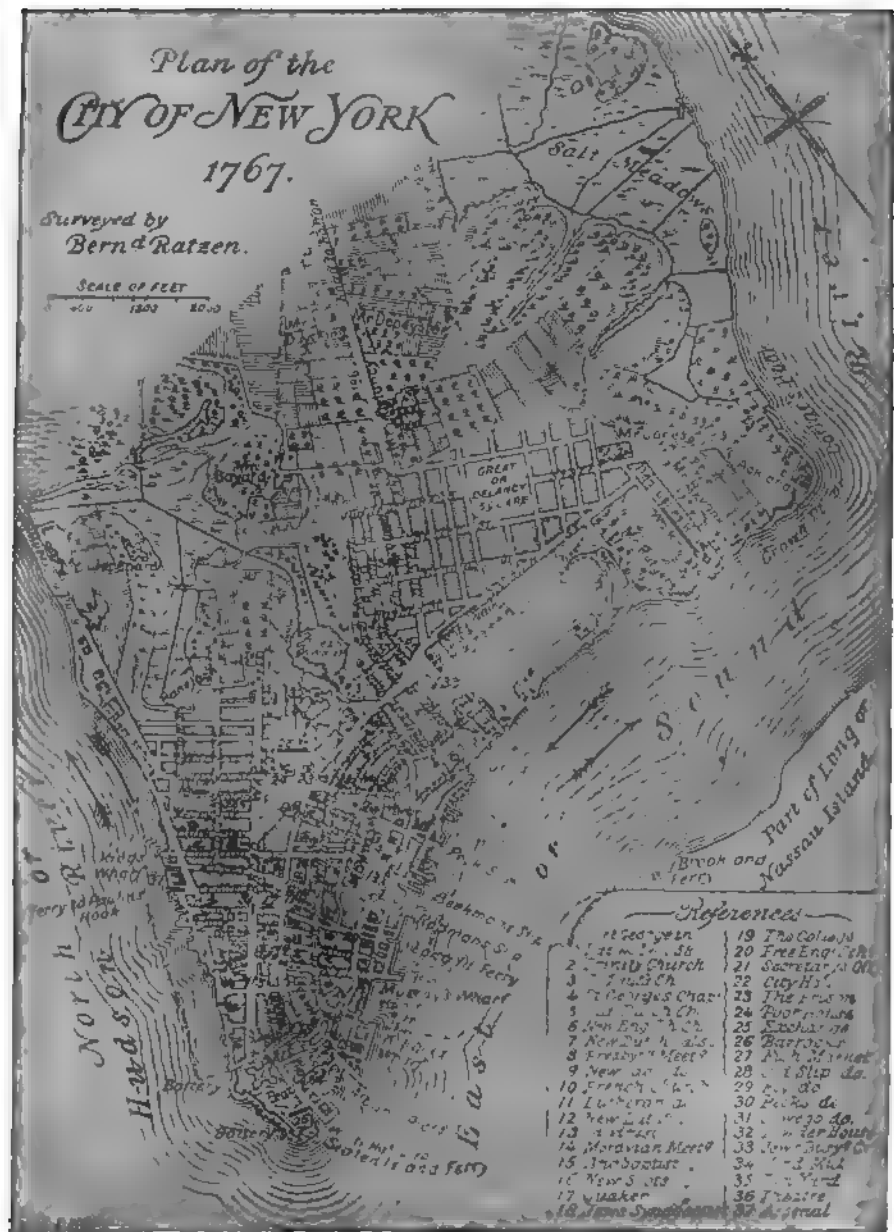
Pitt Medal



to touch and unsure to stand upon.” To Shelburne, as one of the secretaries of state, fell the administration of colonial affairs. In March, 1767, Pitt’s health broke down and the direction of the ministry devolved upon Grafton who was too weak to direct anything



Bernard's Thanksgiving Proclamation, November 6, 1766



NEW YORK IN 1767

1 7 6 6 and soon passed completely under the sway of the
1 7 6 7 brilliant but erratic Townshend.

Royal Troops
in Boston

In the fall of 1766, several companies of royal artillery arrived at Boston and were quartered during the winter by direction of the governor and council—the occasion of a remonstrance from the general court because of the alleged unwarranted expenditure of public money. British soldiers in that day were allowed a degree of license that would not be tolerated now. At this time, they seem to have exercised commendable judgment and restraint, but their presence was an offense to the people of the colonies and a provocative of violence. To make bad matters worse, the old idea of the establishment of an Anglican episcopate in America was revived.

In New York

The experience of New York was especially bitter. In June, 1766, Sir Henry Moore, who in the preceding November had arrived as governor, informed the house of assembly that troops would soon arrive and urged that provision be made for their accommodation. The house excused its non-compliance on the grounds of expense, the uncertain number of troops to be provided for, and the “unprecedented” articles required to be furnished, but finally appropriated for the purpose an unexpended balance of nearly four thousand pounds that was in the treasury subject to the order of the commander-in-chief of the forces in America. To this the governor assented, but Secretary Shelburne refused his approval. As the house would not comply fully with the terms of the quartering act, the assembly was prorogued in December.

7 George III.
cap. 59

In June, 1767, by act of parliament, the assembly was suspended until such time as it should obey the law. It was dissolved in February, 1768, and its successor in the following January. In 1769, the assembly yielded. The coercion was the most arbitrary step that had yet been taken by parliament or crown. Pownall, late governor of Massachusetts, declared in parliament that “there is not a province, a colony, or a plantation that will submit to a tax thus imposed, more than New York will.”

In 1767, Charles Townshend, chancellor of the

exchequer, brought forward the measures now known by his name. The reasons for the acts are to be found in the irritation of public feeling in England over the outcome of the stamp act, the reports of continued agitation and disturbance in America, and the need of additional revenue as a result of the recent reduction of the land tax from four shillings to three shillings in the pound. Townshend, who now dominated the ministry, was a believer in the principle of the stamp act and had pledged himself to find a revenue in the colonies that would at least partly pay the cost of maintaining an army in America.

I 7 6 7
Townshend's
Policy
May 13

The Townshend acts comprised three separate measures. The first provided for the appointment of customs commissioners who should reside in America and to whom the collection of duties should be intrusted. The second act, and the most important, imposed duties on glass, red and white lead, painters' colors, tea, and paper imported into the colonies, allowed a drawback of the duties paid on coffee and cocoa of American production if exported from England, and legalized writs of assistance. The third act removed for five years the land duty of one shilling per pound levied on tea sold in England and allowed a drawback "of the whole of the duty paid upon the importation thereof" into England when the tea was exported to "Ireland and his Majesty's plantations in America." It was expected that this would lower the price so as to enable the East India company, which had a monopoly of the trade, to compete successfully with the smuggled tea that was largely used by the colonists. "It certainly was the prevalent idea that the concessions granted by Parliament permitted the company to sell teas for export to America twenty-five per cent cheaper than those for consumption in England." The Townshend acts became law by the second of July.

The
Townshend
Acts

7 George III.
cap. 56

Townshend, in explaining the bills, professed his purpose to take the Americans at their word by observing the much-prized distinction between external and internal taxation. He repudiated the notion that in law there

The
Revenue Act

1 7 6 7 was any such distinction; but, if the Americans thought that there was one and objected to stamp duties because they were internal taxes, he would raise his revenue by a method the right of which the colonies admitted. There was no concealment of the purpose of this new legislation. The preamble of the revenue act reads: "WHEREAS
 7 George III. it is expedient that a revenue should be raised, in your
 cap. 46 Majesty's dominions in America, for making a more certain and adequate provision for defraying the charge of the administration of justice, and the support of civil government, in such provinces where it shall be found necessary; and towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the said dominions." As with the stamp duties, the proceeds of the revenue duties, estimated at forty thousand pounds a year, were to be kept separate and used only for the objects specified in the preamble. Townshend's move was a shrewd one and the act seemed likely to be successful.

The Death of
 Townshend

The customs-commissioners act and the tea act went into effect upon their passage, but the duties imposed by the revenue act did not become operative until the twentieth of November. Townshend died on the fourth of September and the carrying out of his policy devolved upon Lord North who succeeded him as chancellor of the exchequer. Chatham's conciliatory policy had no fair trial, and Townshend's coercive measures were pressed with neither unity of purpose nor vigor of execution. With Chatham sick and



Lord North

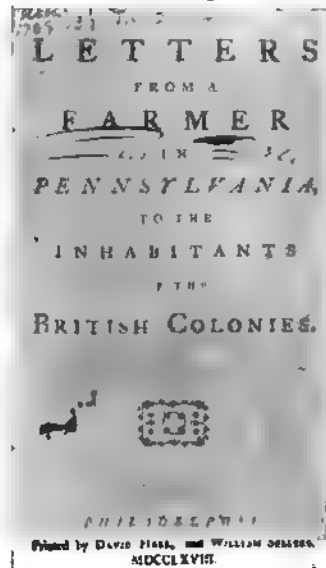
Townshend dead, it was the fate of England that the control of its colonial affairs was to be, throughout this

whole period, in the hands of small-calibre politicians 1767 whom the king could dominate.

The payment of governors and judges by the crown, as was now proposed, would make them independent of the assemblies and incline them to subserviency to the royal will. The Townshend revenue act, accordingly, struck at what some of the Americans regarded as a constitutional right. The more vital question, however, was that of taxation. The difference between internal and external taxation dropped out of consideration as the colonial leaders advanced to the position that no tax intended to raise a revenue in America could constitutionally be laid by parliament without the consent of the colonies.

In a series of papers entitled *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, John Dickinson ably expounded this view, and his words had great influence in molding public thought. In his speech against writs of assistance, Otis had taken the same position; Franklin now accepted the new dogma and had Dickinson's letters reprinted in London.

In November, 1767, two of the new commissioners of customs arrived in Boston; others were already in America. The Massachusetts general



Letters from a Farmer

Title-page of Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer*



James Bowdoin's Desk

The General Court of Massachusetts

1767 court met on the thirtieth of December. The leading
 1768 member of the council was James Bowdoin, of Huguenot
 descent, the richest man in Boston, and a patriot thor-
 oughly in sympathy with Samuel Adams. In the house,
 then the largest legislative body in the colonies, James
 Otis was the recognized leader. Closely associated with



John Hancock's Sideboard

Otis were
 Thomas Cush-
 ing, the speaker;
 Samuel Adams,
 whose recent
 entrance into
 public life has
 already been
 noted and who
 now held the
 office of clerk of
 the house;
 John Hancock,
 young, wealthy,

and popular; and Joseph Hawley, of Northampton, a
 man of strong religious feelings and decision of character.

The Petition
 to the King

In his message, Governor Bernard did not mention the
 Townshend acts, but the offensive measures and the
 charter of the colony were read in the house and referred
 to a committee of nine on the state of the province. On
 the twelfth of January, 1768, a letter to Dennys De
 Berdt, agent of the colony in England, protesting against
 the acts was agreed to; it was soon followed by a petition
 to the king and letters to Shelburne, Rockingham,
 Chatham, and other prominent persons. The language of
 the petition to the king was particularly affectionate. It is
 said that when Adams, its author, finished it, his daughter
 remarked that the paper would soon be touched by the
 royal hand. "More likely, my dear, it will be spurned
 by the royal foot," was the prophetic answer.

The Circular
 Letter

On the fourth of February, a committee was appointed
 "to prepare a letter to be sent to each of the Houses of
 Representatives and Burgesses on the continent, to inform

them of the measures which this House has taken with regard to the difficulties arising from the acts of Parliament for levying duties and taxes on the American colonists." One week later, the famous circular letter, drafted by Adams, was reported and approved. In temperate but unmistakable language, the letter protested against the latest attempt to tax the people of the colonies without their consent. "It is an essential, unalterable Right in nature, engrafted into the British Constitution as a fundamental Law, and ever held sacred and irrevocable by the Subjects within the Realm, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but cannot be taken from him without his consent." Accordingly, acts made in England "with the sole and express purpose of raising a Revenue" in the colonies, are "Infringements of their natural and constitutional Rights, since the colonies are not, and, "considering their local circumstances," cannot be, represented in parliament. Further, it was submitted whether governors, judges, and other civil officers, "having salaries appointed for them by the Crown, independent of the people, hath not a tendency to subvert the principles of Equity, and endanger the Happiness and Security of the Subject." Earnest protest was also entered against the quartering act and the dangerous multiplication of officials made possible by the act appointing customs commissioners.

The great object of the circular letter was to secure united action by all the colonies in resistance to the Townshend acts. "An ambition of taking the lead, or dictating to the other Assemblies," was expressly disclaimed, and the hope expressed that the letter "will be candidly considered in no other Light than as expressing a Disposition freely to communicate their mind to a Sister Colony, upon a common Concern, in the same manner as they would be glad to receive the Sentiments of your or any other House of Assembly on the continent." There was no intimation of any desire for independence. The colonists were still loyal subjects of the

I 7 6 8

February 11

Still no
Talk of
Independence

1 7 6 8 British crown, protesting subjects, to be sure, and deeply in earnest in resisting aggression upon their rights; but loyal subjects nevertheless.

The Boston
Populace

The anniversary of the repeal of the stamp act was observed in Boston with riotous familiarities with the officers of the crown. In June, John Hancock's sloop "Liberty" was seized with its cargo of uncustomed Madeira wine. In the riot that ensued, the revenue officers were roughly handled, and, with their families,



Castle William

took refuge in the "castle" in the harbor. A town-meeting held in Faneuil Hall adopted an address to Governor Bernard expressing the

hope that the customs commissioners, who had "of their own motion" given up their offices and fled to the fort, would never resume their functions, and demanding the removal of the ship-of-war "Romney" from the harbor. The council "passed the customary resolution" expressive of "utter abhorrence and detestation" of the recent violence, but no serious attempt was made to punish the offenders, nor were the commissioners guaranteed protection in case they returned to the town. Although the March incident was almost ludicrous and the "Liberty" episode "hardly worthy of mention," it is obvious that the turbulence of Boston seriously prejudiced the case of the province and made difficult a peaceable redress of grievances.

Colonial
Responses to
the Circular
Letter

The Massachusetts circular letter brought warm responses from the other colonies. Virginia, which had lately voted a statue to the king, now "applauded" the Massachusetts house for its "attention to American liberty," drew up petitions to the king and the house of lords and a remonstrance to the commons, and directed

the agents of the colony to apply "for redress of the 1 7 6 8 grievances they so justly complain of." The New Jersey house thanked Massachusetts for its action. Connecticut, looking beyond the present difficulties "which are perhaps a prelude to still greater," adopted measures of remonstrance similar to those of Massachusetts. The assembly of Georgia, called to meet the first of June, was prorogued by the governor until November; but Massachusetts was informed that the late house had ordered Franklin, the agent of the colony, to join with the other agents in remonstrating against the recent acts and in soliciting their repeal. The Maryland house declared itself in accord with its New England neighbor. Everywhere in the colonies, men condemned the Townshend measures; in most of the towns, they entered into non-importation agreements, while colonial dames organized as "Daughters of Liberty" and pledged themselves to homespun cloths and abstinence from tea.

The petition of the Massachusetts house of representatives was ignored by the king; the circular letter, with its suggestion of concerted action in resistance to parliament and crown, threw him into a rage. On the fifteenth of April, the circular letter was submitted to the cabinet by Lord Hillsborough who, in December, had succeeded Shelburne as secretary of state for the colonies. Franklin, who knew Hillsborough, describes him as "a little alert man of business, but passionate and headstrong." With the approval of the king,



An Angry King

Hillsborough

I 7 6 8 Hillsborough dispatched a circular letter to the governors
 April 21 of the colonies requiring them to use their "utmost influence" to prevent action on the Massachusetts letter by their several assemblies; on the next day, Bernard was instructed to demand that the Massachusetts house rescind its action. In case the house refused, it was to be dissolved. The governor, sorely troubled, wrote: "I don't know whether I shan't be obliged to act like the captain of a fire-ship—provide for my retreat before I light my fuse. There seems at present a determination to resist Great Britain."

The
 Illustrious
 Ninety-two
 June 21

A few days later, Governor Bernard sent a message to the house communicating the demand of the king "in the very words in which I have received it." When the message had been read a second time, James Otis spoke at length, arraigned the conduct of the ministry with severity, and argued that it was impossible for the new house to rescind a measure of the previous house when that measure had been executed. "When Lord Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts, he should apply to parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britain rescind her measures or the colonies are lost to her forever." For nine days, the house considered the question. The governor closely watched the proceedings and threatened dissolution in case of non-compliance. On the thirtieth, the house went into secret session. A letter to Hillsborough was twice read and adopted. Then they put the question "Whether this House will rescind the resolution of the last House which gave birth to their Circular Letter." The vote was taken by yeas and nays. Only seventeen voted yea; ninety-two voted nay, including several who had usually voted on the side of the administration. An answer to the message of the governor was then adopted. The governor was in session with the council when the special committee appeared with the answer of the house. He immediately summoned the representatives before him, when, says Bernard, "a fracas occurred." One member of the council expostulated "and was so indecent as to appeal to the House.

I silenced him. Another gentleman interrupted. I 1 7 6 8
 stopped him also and proceeded to the prorogation.”
 On the following day, the governor dissolved the general
 court by proclamation. “The Illustrious Ninety-two”
 became a favorite toast in convivial gatherings.

The attempt to prevent action in the other colonies
 was equally unsuccessful. New Hampshire, Connecticut,
 New Jersey, Virginia, and Georgia had already replied.
 Punishment could be inflicted, however, and the assem-
 blies of Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia were presently
 dissolved. The New York assembly, already under the
 ban for its refusal to obey the quartering act, was again
 dissolved. Among the prominent members of this
 assembly were Philip Livingston, George Clinton, and
 Philip Schuyler. The adherence of these members of
 old and influential families in the province was of great
 importance to the patriot cause.

In the other
 Colonies

Before news of the March riots in Boston reached
 England, the ministry had determined to send troops to
 Massachusetts. On the eleventh of June, Hillsborough
 wrote to Bernard that at least one regiment was to be
 stationed in Boston, to garrison, and, if necessary, to repair
 the castle, and that a frigate, two sloops, and two cutters
 then in the harbor had been ordered to remain and to sup-
 port the customs officers. In July, General Gage was
 directed to send additional troops from New York; two
 more regiments were soon ordered from Ireland. The
 threat of military coercion seems to have convinced Samuel
 Adams that a redress of colonial grievances was no longer
 to be hoped for and that the only remedy lay in independ-
 ence. No one knew better than he that the time to declare
 for independence had not come and that premature action
 might be fatal; but from the determination to bring about
 independence he did not afterwards swerve. Boston,
 indeed, was not easily overawed; it would take more
 than one or two thousand soldiers to compel obedience to
 laws the legality and propriety of which were generally
 denied; and the presence of troops was sure to be a daily
 reminder that a standing army was a ready tool of tyranny.

A Threat
 of Military
 Coercion



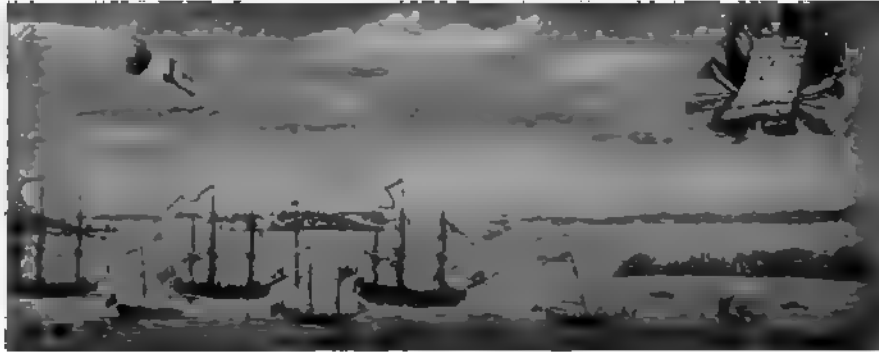
CHRISTIAN REMICK'S "PERSPECTIVE VIEW"

1 7 6 8
A
Massachusetts
Convention
September 12
and 13

It was necessary to provide quarters for the troops that were daily expected. A Boston town-meeting petitioned the governor to convoke the general court "with the utmost speed," but this the governor refused to do without orders from the king. Thereupon the town-meeting voted to call a convention of delegates from all the towns in the province, to meet in Boston on the twenty-second of September. It was further resolved "that the inhabitants of the town of Boston will, at the utmost peril of their lives and fortunes, maintain and defend their rights, liberties, privileges and immunities;" that money ought not to be raised, nor a standing army kept up, within the province without the consent of the people; that, "*in consequence of prevailing apprehensions of a war with France,*" the people ought to provide themselves with arms; and that the ministers should appoint a day of fasting and prayer. Ninety-six towns and eight districts were represented in the convention. The governor refused the petition of the delegates asking him to assemble the general court and forced the convention to a moderate course by a denunciation of it as treasonable. The delegates adopted a petition to the king and a letter to the colony agent, and after several days adjourned.

A Cool
Reception

On the day after the adjournment of the convention, seven armed vessels from Halifax, having on board two regiments of about five hundred men each, arrived off Nantasket in the lower harbor. By the terms of the



OF THE BLOCKADE OF BOSTON, 1768

quartering act, the regular barracks must first be filled 1768 before quarters could be demanded elsewhere. Governor Bernard, however, insisted that Castle William, being reserved for the regiments already on the way from Ireland, was constructively full, and his request for quarters in the town was reinforced by General Gage who had sent orders from New York to that effect. The council declined to order the preparation of quarters and threw the responsibility upon the town authorities who, in turn, pointed out that the quartering act devolved the duty upon the justices of the peace. When the troops landed, no accommodations were available and the night was frosty. One of the regiments camped on the Common and the other found shelter in Faneuil Hall and the town-house. General Gage soon came on from New York, but his presence was of no avail and Colonel Dalrymple was finally obliged to hire the needed buildings at exorbitant rents and to purchase supplies at the expense of the crown.

October 1

The presence of soldiers, however justifiable in law, was a grievous annoyance to the townspeople. With cannon commanding the Old South meeting-house, opposite the town-house, sentries patrolling the streets, and soldiers drilling and marching, grim tyranny stalked by day and night in the Puritan community. Had the deliberate intention of the ministry been to goad the inhabitants of Boston to violence, nothing could have been better fitted to that end. From this time, the

A Grave
Issue

removal of the troops became an issue of deep personal interest and grave political significance, the steady pursuit of which, for the next eighteen months, gave directness and unity to local and provincial politics. 1768

While Hillsborough was thus browbeating Boston, he was trying to humor and coax Virginia. For three-

quarters of a century, the sinecure governors of Virginia had remained in England and governed through a deputy in the colony. But, in 1768, Baron Botetourt, a man of "affable manner and sweet discourse," but whose fortune had been much impaired by gambling, solicited the appointment; and in July of that year he was sent to Virginia to succeed Sir Jeffrey Amherst. He arrived in November with instructions—

of course not made public—to impress the colonists with a display of power and dignity and to maintain the principle of parliamentary supremacy, but otherwise to humor the people as circumstances might require. Botetourt succeeded in winning the regard of the province and did not forfeit it when, some months later, he found it necessary to dissolve the assembly; but even his tact and grace could not stem the



Statue of Lord Botetourt standing in front of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia

Botetourt

Autograph of Lord Botetourt

1 7 6 8 tide of protest and revolt that was already running high in Virginia as in Massachusetts.

America in
Revolt

A year's trial of the Townshend acts had not been encouraging to the ministry. Confronted with the duties imposed by the revenue act, the colonial leaders had largely abandoned the untenable distinction between external and internal taxation, and taken their stand on the more solid ground that no form of parliamentary taxation could be accepted so long as the colonies were unrepresented in the imperial legislature; while the conviction that such representation, all things considered, was impracticable led inevitably to the conclusion that the colonies might not be taxed by parliament at all. The attempt to enforce the act had failed, while the activity of the customs officers and the presence of troops had been met, at times by violence, everywhere by stubborn resistance. The New York assembly had been suspended, other assemblies had been dissolved; but the call to union sent forth by Massachusetts had met prompt response, and the colonies were quietly and informally acting in concert. America was in revolt; how far the revolt would spread depended on the attitude of parliament and crown. Would Great Britain recede or would the obedience of the colonies be compelled? Another year was to answer the question.





C H A P T E R V I

REPEAL OF THE TOWNSHEND ACTS

PARLIAMENT met in November, 1768, and papers relating to the recent disturbances in Massachusetts and to the "Liberty" affair in Boston were laid before both houses. On the fifteenth of December, the house of lords adopted resolutions strongly censuring the proceedings in Massachusetts, upholding the dispatch of troops, and urging that Governor Bernard be directed "to take the most effectual methods for procuring the fullest information that can be obtained touching all treasons, or misprision of treason, committed within his government since the thirtieth of December last, and to transmit the same, together with the names of the persons who were most active in the commission of such offenses," to one of the secretaries of state, with a view to the trial of such offenders in England under an old statute of the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. for the trial of treasons committed out of the kingdom. On the ninth of February, 1769, the resolutions were agreed to by the commons. The king, in his answer, thanked the houses for their "strong assurances" of support and promised that he would not "fail to give those orders which you recommend, as the most effectual method of bringing the authors of the late unhappy disorders in that province to condign punishment." The address and answer were ordered to be printed.

Parliamentary
Resolves

The Royal
Answer

February 14

The resolutions did not receive the approval of the

1769
Opposition in
Parliament

commons without a protest. Burke, Pownall, and Barré led the opposition. "Away with these partial, resentful trifles," exclaimed Barré, "calculated to irritate, not to quell or appease—inadequate to their purpose, unworthy of us! Why will you endeavor to deceive yourselves and us? You know that it is not Massachusetts only that disputes your right, but every part of America. From one end of the continent to the other, they tell you that you have no right to tax them. My sentiments on this matter you well know. Consider well what you are doing. Act openly and honestly. Tell them you *will* tax them, and that they *must* submit. Do not adopt this little, insidious, futile plan. They will despise you for it." Pownall declared his belief that the colonists could not be compelled to obey oppressive laws, but that they would, if forced to it, unite in common resistance and defense. The large majority in parliament sided with the ministry and the English public was in favor of coercion. Frank-

lin wrote that "every man in England regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talks of *our* subjects in the colonies."

The proposition to apply to America a statute that had been passed years before any English colony had been established, and under it to transport to England for trial persons alleged to have resisted the crown in America, aroused the greatest indignation and alarm. The ancient right of trial by "a jury of the vicinage" was threatened. The general assembly of Virginia met on the eleventh of May, 1769, and, on the sixteenth, the house of burgesses adopted resolutions that deserve to stand by the side of the declarations of the stamp-

The Virginia
Resolutions



Iron Stove or "Warming Machine" used in the Virginia House of Burgesses

act congress. The resolutions are printed in the appendix to this volume. Because of their adoption, Governor Botetourt dissolved the assembly. The members, however, met at the Apollo in the Raleigh tavern, and, under the lead of Peyton Randolph, speaker of the late house, united in a non-importation agreement. Among the names affixed to this agreement are those of Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington. The resolutions were transmitted to the other colonies, where they were generally approved and in some cases adopted entire.

It will be remembered that John Wilkes had been expelled from the house of commons in 1764 for his criticism of the king's speech, had been convicted of libel in the court of king's bench, and had fled to France. Chatham retired from the ministry in 1768. In that year, Wilkes suddenly returned from exile and

Persistent
Middlesex



Autograph of Wilkes

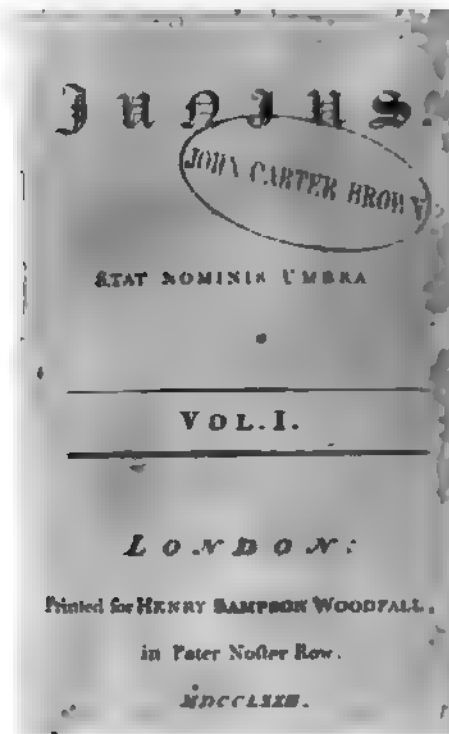
was elected to the house of commons from Middlesex. "His election was a token of a widespread dissatisfaction, not so much with the taxation of America as with the corruption by which the king had won parliament to his side." In February, 1769, the commons again expelled him, but he was promptly reelected. Thereupon the house, by a vote of two hundred and thirty-five to eighty-nine, again expelled him and declared him incapable of holding a seat in the existing parliament. On the sixteenth of March, he was again elected from Middlesex, but the next day the election was declared void by the house. On the thirteenth of April, Wilkes was returned for the fourth time and by a vote of nearly four to one. The house, however, seated his opponent.

The gravity of the constitutional issue thus raised in England was not lost sight of by the people. There was no doubt that the commons could expel a member for any cause that seemed to them sufficient, but Chatham, Grenville, and the Rockingham Whigs denied the right

The
"Junius"
Letters

1769 of the house to deprive the electors of the right of voting for whomsoever they pleased, or to give a seat to a

candidate who was clearly not the choice of the voters. Grafton's weak and vacillating ministry began to totter to its fall. To add to the difficulties of the court party, an anonymous writer, in a series of letters signed "Junius," bitterly attacked the king and his ministers, while the mob raised the cry of "Wilkes and liberty." Wilkes surrendered himself in June for a trial on the old charge of libel and was fined and imprisoned. A mob that attempted to rescue him was fired upon by troops and a number of persons were killed. While Wilkes was still a prisoner, the citizens of London chose him to the office of alderman of the city. The ministry and commons had transformed a worthless demagogue into a martyr. Of course, these stirring events in England had their effect upon men who, in America, were resisting encroachments upon their liberties.



Title-page of *Junius*

A London Mob

Boston Petitions for the Removal of the Troops

April 8

The Boston town-meeting in March, 1769, petitioned the king to remove the troops and earnestly protested against the charges of disorder and disloyalty made against the town and its people. The petition, with a letter from Samuel Adams, was forwarded to Barré with

the request that he would, in person, present it to the king. In April, the command of the troops in Boston devolved upon Alexander Mackay, colonel of the sixty-fifth regiment and a member of parliament. Mackay soon went to England, leaving the command to Lieutenant-colonel Dalrymple.

The Massachusetts general court met at the end of May. Boston was garrisoned by royal troops and two cannons commanded the approach to what is now the old state house, where the sessions of the court were held.

Free Representatives
and Military Duties



View of the Old State House, Boston, 1791, from Washington Street

A committee of the house of representatives was promptly appointed to ask for the removal of the soldiers. "An armament by sea and land investing this metropolis," they declared, "and a military guard with cannon pointed at the door of the state house where the assembly is held, are inconsistent with that dignity and freedom with which they have a right to deliberate, consult, and determine. They expect that your excellency will, as his majesty's representative, give effectual orders for the removal of the above-mentioned forces by sea and land out of this port

1 7 6 9 and the gates of this city during the session of the said assembly." The governor replied curtly that he had no authority over the ships or the troops. On the thirteenth of June, the house responded that, "by the principles of the constitution, the governor of this colony has the absolute military command; that the sending a military force here, to enforce the execution of the laws, is inconsistent with the nature of government and the spirit of a free constitution. This military force is uncontrollable by any authority in the province; it is then a power without any check here, and therefore it is so far absolute. What privilege! what security then is left to this house?"

A Resolute
Legislature

In the meantime, the house had proceeded to the election of councilors and had dropped a number of the old members, including Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson. Bernard, alleging that the excluded members were persons "who shewed a disposition to support the king's government, to acknowledge the authority of parliament, and to preserve the people from a democratical despotism," negatived the choice of eleven of the new members. As the house refused to do business while the troops remained, the governor adjourned the general court to Cambridge where there was no garrison. Of course, the court protested. When, on the twenty-eighth of June, the governor informed them that the king had summoned him to England to report on the state of the province, the house replied that they "cheerfully acquiesced in the command of their sovereign for his return to Great Britain," petitioned the king for his removal, and adopted resolutions arraigning the recent conduct of the governor and denouncing the maintenance of a standing army in the colony. When the governor called upon them to answer whether they would or would not make provision for the troops, the house replied: "As we cannot consistently with our own honor and interest, much less with the duty we owe to our constituents, so we never shall make any provision of funds for the purposes in your several messages." The general court was then prorogued until the tenth of the following January.

In August, Governor Bernard left Massachusetts, never to return. His letters, subsequently made public, showed that he had for some time been filling the ears of the ministry with reports derogatory to the province, charging the council with "servility to the populace," and the general court with disloyal hostility to the crown. If, as is doubtful, he had any true understanding of the state of public feeling in the colony, he persistently misrepresented it by styling his opponents a "faction." The responsibility for the presence of troops rests mainly with him, and he secretly urged such alteration of the charter as would place in the hands of the king the appointment of members of the upper house of the general court. "Since Machiavelli undertook to teach the Medici how principalities might be governed and maintained," says Trevelyan, "no such body of literature was put on paper as that in which Sir Francis Bernard . . . instructed George the Third and his ministers in the art of throwing away a choice portion of a mighty empire."

1769
Exit Governor
Bernard

The presence of the troops in Boston was an increasing annoyance. The troops could not be legally used without the approval of a civil magistrate, and the behavior of the citizens afforded no occasion for their employment. The force at hand was quite inadequate to deal with a popular rising; "no doubt the soldiers were more afraid of the people than the people of the soldiers." In the early summer, Bernard had been startled by an inquiry from General Gage as to whether troops were longer needed and had hastened to reply that two regiments, one in the town and the other at Castle William, should by all means be retained. The sixty-fourth and sixty-fifth regiments, sent to Boston a few months before, were now ordered to Halifax. One had sailed and the other was about to embark, when the resolutions arraigning the course of Bernard appeared in the *Boston Gazette*. The regiment was detained until the resolutions were somewhat modified and then was allowed to depart. There remained in Boston the fourteenth and twenty-ninth regiments—the two that Lord North termed "the Sam Adams regiments."

The
Sam Adams
Regiments

1769

James Otis
Becomes
Insane

Two regiments or four, the troops were "a burden, a nuisance and an annoyance." They led brawling, riotous lives. Disreputable women who had followed the regiments across the sea scandalized the citizens for a time and then encumbered the almshouse. On Sundays, the soldiers raced horses on the common, or played "Yankee Doodle" and other airs just outside the meeting-house doors during service. Daily parades and drills were kept up, while duels and street-fights heaped bitterness on irritation and daily buried deeper the possibility of reconciliation. One calamity in particular brought serious loss to the patriot cause. In the summer of 1769, James Otis had a controversy with the revenue officers, and attacked them in the columns of the *Boston Gazette*. A few evenings later, he was assaulted by a commissioner of the revenue and several other persons, savagely beaten and given a sword-cut on the head. Otis brought suit for damages against the commissioner and obtained a judgment of two thousand pounds. The crown officer apologized and Otis refused to take a penny of the damages. The affair ended a career of worthy achievement and brilliant promise; a mental malady that had already shown itself grew rapidly worse and Otis shortly became hopelessly, though harmlessly, insane.

Lieutenant-
Governor
Hutchinson

The fourteenth regiment was quartered in Murray's barracks, a short distance north of King (now State) street, and near the Brattle Street church; the twenty-ninth regiment was quartered in Water and Atkinson streets, a little south of King street. The main guard was stationed in King street, directly opposite the door of the town-house, and here the two field-pieces had been planted. "The troops must move to the castle," insisted Samuel Adams; "it must be the first business of the general court to move them out of town." Recognizing the unanimity of feeling in the patriot party, Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson, upon whom the executive administration of the affairs of the colony had devolved after Bernard's withdrawal, made arrangements to remove the guard. The general court was to meet on the tenth of

January, 1770, but, on the third of the month, Hutchinson received a royal order to prorogue the court until the second Wednesday in March. The main guard, consequently, was left at its station near the town-house. I 7 7 0

In addition to the many order-loving citizens of Boston who were willing, if necessary, to take up arms in defense of their rights, there were many undesirable citizens who, under the guise of ardent patriotism, were ready for disorder. Thus collisions with the troops became frequent, inflamed public feeling, and prepared the way for more serious occurrences. One day, some seamen were impressed for service on an English man-of-war and the officer commanding the party was killed. When the case was tried in the admiralty court, it was shown that the alleged murder was committed in self-defense, but the acquittal of the accused did not allay popular resentment. The store of a merchant who persisted in selling goods prohibited by the non-importation agreement had been marked by a wooden image. When a friend of the merchant attempted to remove the offensive sign, a mob interfered; whereupon he fired into the crowd and fatally wounded a boy named Christopher Snider. At the funeral, five hundred children walked in front of the bier, six of Snider's schoolmates held the pall, and thirteen hundred persons followed in procession. On the second of March, there was an "affair" at Gray's wharf, or rope-walk. Words led to blows, injuries were inflicted on both sides, and the soldiers retired. Cumulative Trouble February

On the evening of the fifth of March, two soldiers were attacked and beaten. Disturbance soon became general; bells were rung as though for a fire, and a crowd gathered in the streets with a rapidity that evidenced a preconcerted plan to "have it out" with the troops. About nine o'clock, the mob attacked a sentinel in front of the custom-house on King street. Captain Thomas Preston, officer of the day, sent a non-commissioned The Boston "Massacre"

Tho: Preston

Autograph of Preston



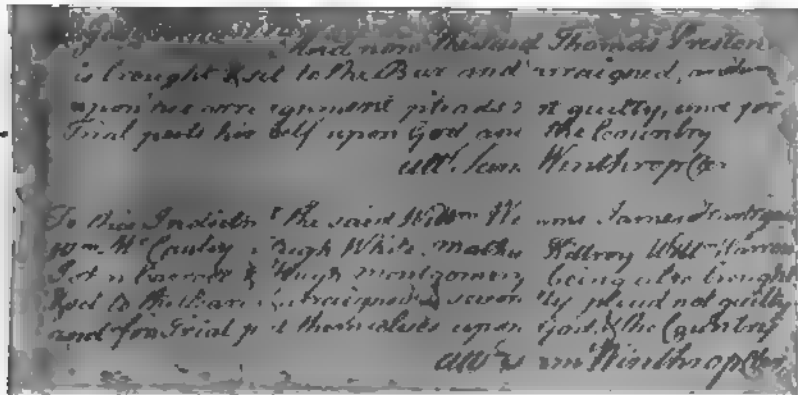
The Bloody Massacre on the Streets of Boston, March 5, 1770, engraved and colored by Paul Revere
Reproduction in facsimile (reduced) by special permission from a copy of the original
kindly loaned by the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts

1770 officer and twelve men to protect the sentinel and the custom-house, himself following soon after. When he arrived, he found the guard surrounded by a mob armed with clubs; members of the mob pressed up almost to the muzzles of the guns and even threw snow in the

soldiers' faces. "Come on, you rascals, you bloody-backs, you lobster-scoundrels; fire if you dare, fire and be damned; we know you dare not;" were among the choice expressions hurled at the guard. Military discipline was proof against verbal provocation, but when a soldier was struck with a stick he fired his musket without orders. As the enraged mob surged forward, three or four other muskets were discharged, then three more. The affair was over in about twenty minutes. Three of the rioters were killed and eight wounded, two of the latter mortally. Drums beat to arms; the twenty-ninth regiment formed in King street; the fourteenth regiment was held under arms at its barracks. Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson addressed the crowd and with difficulty prevailed on the people to disperse.

A warrant was immediately issued for the arrest of Preston and the soldiers who had done the firing. Pres-

Self-control
and Discipline



Indictment of Captain Thomas Preston for killing Samuel Maverick and others in the Boston Massacre

ton at once surrendered himself and, with his men, was committed to jail. In his own account of the affair, Preston averred that he did not give any order to fire, but that he did his best to induce the mob to disperse and interfered to prevent a repetition of the firing after the first discharge. With the crowd shouting "Fire! fire!" the exasperated soldiers may have imagined that

1770 they heard in the din the command that all doubtless would have welcomed; but it was due to the self-control of Preston and the discipline of the troops, as well as to the fact that so small a number was engaged, that the fight was not more bloody than it was.

Both
Regiments
Withdrawn

On the following morning, the people of Boston met in Faneuil Hall, voted, as the "unanimous opinion" of the meeting, "that the inhabitants and soldiery can no longer live together in safety," and appointed a committee of fifteen to wait upon the lieutenant-governor and to pray "that his power and influence may be exerted" for the "instant removal" of the troops. In reply, Hutchinson declared that it was not in his power to countermand General Gage's orders. Since, however, Colonel Dalrymple of the twenty-ninth was willing to withdraw, that regiment should be removed; the other should be "so disposed, and laid under such restraint, that all occasion of future disturbances may be prevented." The reply was at once voted unsatisfactory, and a committee, including Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Doctor Joseph Warren, was appointed to inform the lieutenant-governor "that nothing less will satisfy than a total and immediate removal of all the troops." "If you can remove the twenty-ninth regiment," said Adams to Dalrymple, "you can also remove the fourteenth; and it is at your peril if you do not." Hutchinson delayed until nightfall, when, with Oliver's grim suggestion, "You must either comply or determine to leave the province," ringing in his ears, he yielded. The removal was delayed until the following Monday.

The leader of the mob of the fifth of March was Crispus



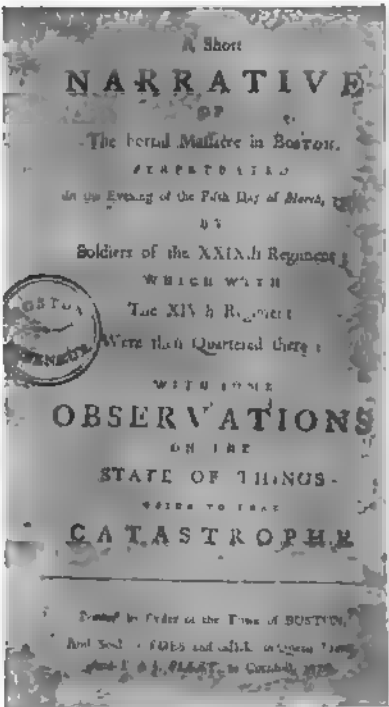
The Funeral
of the Slain

Boston Massacre Monument

Attucks, a native of Framingham, of mixed negro and Indian blood, a man of great strength and stature. He was the first to fall. It was decided that the bodies of the four who met death in the "massacre" should be buried in a common grave. The funeral took place on the eighth. According to a contemporary account, "all the shops were shut up, all the bells in the town were ordered to toll, as were those in the neighboring towns, and the bodies . . . were carried together through the main streets, followed by the greatest concourse of people ever known." The anniversary of their death was observed in Boston until the recognition of American independence in 1783, when the general celebration of the Fourth of July took its place.

Under the circumstances, the small loss of life was creditable alike to the discipline of the troops and to the moderation of the people. "In most ages and countries," says John Fiske, "the shooting of half a dozen citizens under such circumstances would either have produced but a slight impression, or, on the other hand, would perhaps have resulted on the spot in a wholesale slaughter of the unoffending soldiers. The fact that so profound an impression was made in Boston and throughout the country, while at the same time the guilty parties were left to be dealt with in the ordinary course of law, is a striking commentary upon the general peacefulness

Law-abiding
Tendencies



Title-page of the published *Narrative* of the Massacre

1770 and decorum of American life, and it shows how high and severe was the standard by which our forefathers judged all lawless proceedings." None the less, all classes in Boston "joined in execrating the soldiers, and gave no ear to justifying or mitigating circumstances." Highly magnified accounts of the affair were spread abroad and, in all the colonies, intensified the spirit of resistance. The title of "The Boston Massacre" still clings, and probably always will cling, to the events of that night.

Preston's
Acquittal

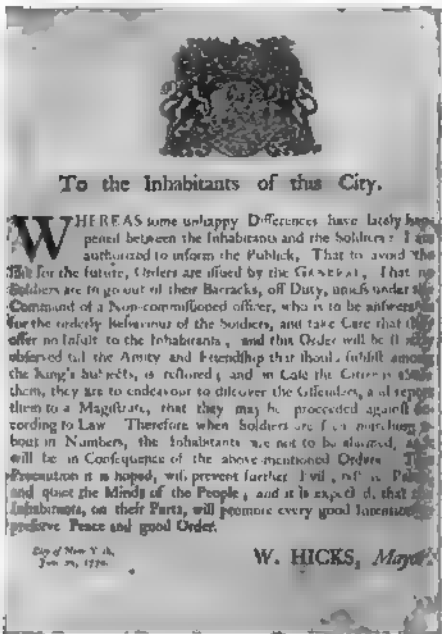
The trial of Captain Preston and the accused soldiers did not take place until the last week of October. The prisoners were defended by Josiah Quincy and John Adams. Quincy's family had been prominent in Massachusetts for more than a century. He was born in Boston in 1744, was graduated at Harvard in 1763, studied law with Oxenbridge Thacher, had rare oratorical powers, and soon rose to the foremost rank in his profession. The Boston populace was intensely excited and it required both moral and physical courage to defend the "red-coats." Quincy's father remonstrated against his son's undertaking the defense and wrote: "Good God, is it possible! I will not believe it." John Adams was a relative of Samuel Adams and one of the most prominent of the younger lawyers of the province; he had qualities and was developing powers that made him one of the foremost figures in American history. The jury acquitted Preston and all the soldiers save two; these two were convicted of manslaughter, probably more to appease the people than because of any clear proof of their guilt. The convicted men at once pleaded benefit of clergy, under which provision of old English law a person who could read and write might escape further punishment by being branded in the hand; and this penalty was accordingly inflicted.

In New York

Other colonies, too, had their disturbances, though none so serious as the "Boston Massacre." The New York assembly had yielded and made the provision for troops required by the quartering act. This offended the patriot party and increased the ill feeling between the

people and the soldiers. In January, 1770, the soldiers cut down the "liberty-pole" and placards denouncing the Sons of Liberty were posted about the town. A new pole, substantially secured with iron, was immediately erected. An address denouncing the action of the assembly in voting money for the troops was declared libelous by that body, and the publisher, Alexander McDougall, was sent to jail, indicted by the grand jury, released on bail, adjudged guilty of contempt, and again sent to jail. After having been under bonds for a year and in confinement for more than five months, all without trial, he was discharged by the supreme court in March, 1771.

Throughout the colonies, non-importation agreements similar to those adopted in Massachusetts and Virginia had been widely entered into. Such a "self-denying ordinance" was hard to enforce after the first flush of enthusiasm had passed and it often became necessary to adopt harsh measures to compel conformity. Edes and Gill's *Almanack* for 1770 contained a "black-list" of the "names of those who audaciously continue to counteract the united sentiments of the body of merchants thro'out North America; by importing British goods contrary to the agreement." "William Jackson, an importer at Brazen Head, north side of the Town House, and opposite the Town Pump, in Corn-hill,



Mayor Hicks's Proclamation for Preservation of Order in New York

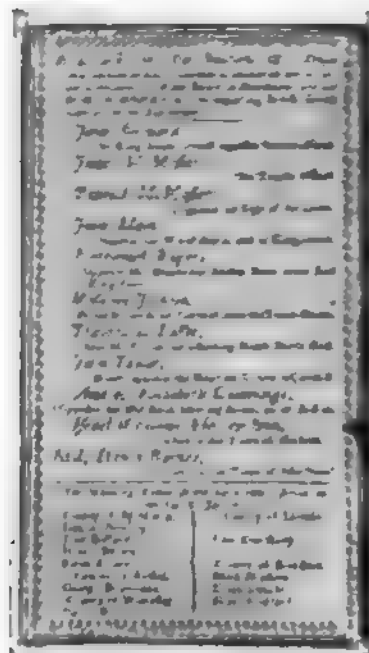
Enforcing
the Non-
importation
Agreement

"Boston," gave offense, and a handbill announced that "It is desired that the Sons and Daughters of Liberty will

not buy any one thing of him, for in so doing they will bring disgrace upon themselves and their posterity for ever and ever."

In a letter to Hillsborough, Hutchinson reported that efforts were being made to compel all who had imported contraband goods to send them back; "that the Boston zealots had no bowels, and gave for answer, that if a ship was to bring in the plague, nobody would doubt what was necessary to be done with her; but the present case is much worse than that."

Hutchinson tried to form an opposition association, through the agency of "a merchant of the first estate



The Sons of Liberty
handbill

April 27

Black list published in Edes and Gill's
North American Almanac, 1770

and character," but failed, the merchant advising him that "until parliament made provision for the punishment of the confederacies, all would be ineffectual, and the associates would be exposed to popular rage."

Although imperfectly kept, the non-importation agreements had so far affected trade as to alarm British merchants. English exports to America, which amounted to 2,378,000 pounds sterling in 1768, had fallen to 1,634,000 pounds in 1769; in 1770, they were 1,925,000 pounds. In 1769, Pownall had moved the repeal of the revenue act. In an elaborate speech, he pointed out that the gross receipts from the duties, which Townshend had estimated at forty thousand pounds annually, had been for the first year less than sixteen thousand pounds, of

Pownall and
Harris for
Repeal

which only two hundred and ninety-five pounds was net revenue; while extraordinary military expenses in America had aggregated one hundred and seventy thousand pounds. Lord North, however, doubtless speaking for the king, declared that "however prudence or policy may hereafter induce us to repeal the late act, I hope we shall never think of it till we see America prostrate at our feet." Barré reminded him that that was more easily imagined than accomplished, and continued: "For my part, the America I wish to see is America increasing and prosperous, raising her head in graceful dignity, with freedom and firmness asserting her rights at your bar, vindicating her liberties, pleading her services, and conscious of her merit. . . . Unless you repeal this law, you run the risk of losing America." By a majority of one vote, the cabinet sustained North, but Hillsborough shortly addressed a circular letter to the colonial governors informing them that "His Majesty's Present Administration have [at] no time entertained a Design to propose to Parliament to lay any further Taxes upon America for the purpose of raising a Revenue, and . . . it is at present their Intention to propose in the next Session of Parliament to take off the Duties on Glass, Paper, and Colours, upon consideration of such Duties having been laid contrary to the true principles of Commerce."

1770

May 13,
1769

The proposition to repeal some of the duties was not acceptable in America where the principle of the tax rather than the amount of it was objected to. A meeting of Boston merchants resolved that the proposed repeal "was intended merely to gratify the British manufacturers" and failed to redress the colonial grievances. A committee of merchants in Philadelphia resolved that "nothing less than a repeal of all the revenue acts, and putting things on the same footing they were before the late innovations, can or will satisfy the minds of the people." There was something like defiance in the words: "The fleets and armies may overawe our towns; admiralty courts and boards of commissioners, with their

Standing on
the Rock

November,
1770

1770 swarms of underlings, may, by a rigorous execution of severe unconstitutional acts, ruin our commerce and render America of little use to the people of Britain; but while every farmer is a freeholder the spirit of liberty will prevail." Among the signers of the Philadelphia resolutions were Robert Morris, Charles Thomson, and Thomas Mifflin.

Lord North
becomes the
Nominal
Premier
January 9

Political changes in England combined with violent protest in America to hasten a settlement. The speech from the throne at the opening of parliament began: "My Lords and Gentlemen: It is with much concern that I find myself obliged to open this session of parliament with acquainting you, that the distemper among the horned cattle has lately broke out in this kingdom, notwithstanding every precaution that could be used for preventing the infection from foreign parts." The incongruity was laughable. The mysterious and pungent "Junius" complained that "instead of the firmness and decision of a king, you gave us nothing but the misery of a ruined grazier." Chatham championed the cause of



Medalet of John Wilkes



January 25

Wilkes and denied the right of Luttrell to a seat. "The very sound of his voice dissolved the composite ministry." Camden, the lord chancellor, was dismissed, Grafton soon resigned, and Lord North was called upon to form a ministry. From that moment, "George III. was his own prime minister and his own cabinet." North was thirty-seven years old, of "sound judgment, wide knowledge, and rare sweetness of temper, but wholly lacking in sympathy with popular government." He had supported the stamp act and did not doubt the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies; but he was opposed

to harsh measures and sincerely desired a reconciliation; unfortunately, his political ideals did not rise above subserviency to the king. His long administration, extending to 1782, is well said by an English writer to have "teemed with calamitous events beyond any of the same duration to be found in our annals."

On the fifth of March, the day of the "Boston Massacre," North brought in a bill to repeal the duties imposed by the Townshend revenue act, except the duty on tea. The reasons given for the repeal were "the dangerous combinations which these duties have given birth to beyond the Atlantic" and the dissatisfaction with them among merchants at home. As to the duties themselves, they were, as a whole, "so absurd and preposterous, that it must astonish every reasonable man how they could have originated in a British legislature." As to the duty on tea, while it imposed a trifling duty of threepence a pound, the removal of a duty of nearly twelve pence a pound made a clear reduction of the price of tea in America. The real reason for retaining the tea duty was, of course, that the right of parliament to tax the colonies, as set forth in the declaratory act of 1766, was thereby asserted. "The properest time to assert our right of taxation," declared North, "is when the right is refused. To temporize is to yield, and the authority of the mother-country, if it is now unsupported, will in reality be relinquished forever."

North's
Repeal Bill

Pownall moved to amend the bill by including tea in the repeal; in this he was supported by Conway and Barré. Every reason for repealing a part of the duties applies equally to repealing them all, while a partial repeal will be a "source of perpetual discontent to the colonies" and a "certain expense to ourselves." "The tea duty will by no means answer the charge of collecting it;" the effect "of a partial repeal is to plunder ourselves, while it oppresses our fellow-subjects, and all for the mere purpose of preserving a paltry preamble which is utterly useless and unnecessary." Grenville made a spirited defense of his course in the matter of the stamp act and

Pownall's
Amendment

1770 declared that "since that time, no minister had acted with common sense." He opposed both the ministerial bill and the amendment and announced that he should not vote on the question. By a vote of two hundred and four against one hundred and forty-two, Pownall's amendment was rejected.

The Passage
of the Repeal
Bill

The bill repealing all the duties except that on tea was passed, and, on the twelfth of April, it received the royal assent. The tea act of 1767, taking off the inland duty of one shilling a pound on teas consumed in England and granting a drawback for five years on teas exported to America, was continued in force. The obnoxious quartering act of 1765 was quietly abandoned. The second attempt to tax America for the sake of a revenue had failed. Would the attempt to tax America for the sake of a principle succeed?





C H A P T E R V I I

STRENGTHENING THE COLONIAL BODY

IN the discussion of the Townshend acts and their repeal, Doctor Johnson had declared that the Americans "are a race of convicted felons, and they ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging." "We shall grant nothing to the Americans," said the secretary of state for the colonies, "except what they may ask with a halter round their necks." Happily, better counsels prevailed and the acts were repealed. An immediate effect of the repeal was the abandonment by the colonies of their non-importation and non-consumption agreements, save as to tea which still remained under the ban. The agreements had never been popular and were difficult to enforce. They had the effect, however, of stimulating the growth of American manufactures, particularly of cloth and boots and shoes, of encouraging the use of home-made articles, and of discouraging extravagance. The graduating class at Harvard College, in 1770, "were dressed in black cloth, entirely the manufacture of New England."

The
Abandoned
Agreement

But there was no immediate cessation of the colonial agitation and the leadership of Massachusetts became still more pronounced. When the general court of that province met at Cambridge on the fifteenth of March, the house protested against the "infraction of their essential rights as men and citizens, as well as those derived from the British constitution and the charter of the colony," and petitioned for adjournment to Boston. Hutch-

The Protest
of the
Massachusetts
General Court

1770 Inson refused to comply with the request, and, after a heated discussion of the matter for eight days, the house resolved "to proceed to business under this grievance only from *absolute necessity*." The protest was ordered entered on the journals "to the end that the same may not be drawn into precedent at any time hereafter."

A Recipe for
Tranquillity

In his communications to the general court, Hutchinson did not allude to the tragedy of the fifth of March. On the seventh of April, he informed them of a "riotous transaction" at Gloucester, where a customs officer had been tarred and feathered, in order, as he said, "that, if any act or order of the whole legislature should be judged necessary for the strengthening or encouraging the executive powers of government, there might be an opportunity for it." Two weeks later, the house expressed its "abhorrence of all disorderly and riotous proceedings" and its "disposition and duty to take the most effectual measures to discountenance the same," and affirmed the propriety of inquiring into the "real causes" of such "riots and tumults." "It may justly be said of the people of this province," they declared, "that they seldom, if ever, have assembled in a tumultuous manner, unless they have been oppressed. It cannot be expected that a people accustomed to the freedom of the English constitution will be patient under the hand of tyranny and arbitrary power. . . . The most effectual method to restore tranquillity would be to remove their burdens, and to punish all those who have been the procurers of their oppression. . . . Your honor cannot think this House can descend to the consideration of matters comparatively trifling, while the capital of the province has so lately been in a state of actual imprisonment, and the government itself under duress."

Another
Protest

The session was cut short; but successive prorogations had brought the day of dissolution close to the date on which, by the charter, the new court should convene. In the session just closed, parties had been about equally divided; successful efforts were now made to increase the ranks of the "patriots." The members from Boston

were instructed to resist the "unwarrantable and arbitrary exactions made upon the people" and warned that "many recent events, and especially the late journals of the House of Lords, afford good reason to believe that a desperate plan of imperial despotism has been laid, and partly executed, for the extinction of all civil liberty." I 770

When the general court assembled, the house again protested against the order assembling them at Cambridge. May 31
 "The town house in Boston," it was declared, "is the only place where the General Court is to be convened and held. We do not conceive that it is in your honor's discretion to remove it to this or to any other place; nor does the prerogative of the crown extend so far as to suffer you to exercise power to the injury of the people." Ninety-six out of one hundred and two members united in a protest against doing business under such circumstances, and, on the twenty-fifth of June, Hutchinson prorogued the court for a month. When it reassembled in July, it was prorogued until September.

The receipt of news of the "Boston massacre" called out a brief parliamentary debate on American affairs. In Parliament
 "God forbid we should send soldiers to act without civil authority," exclaimed Grenville. "Let us have no more angry votes against the people of America," said Lord Beauchamp. "The officers agreed in sending the soldiers to Castle William," said Barré; "what minister will dare to send them back to Boston?" On the eighth of May, Pownall introduced a resolution "praying his Majesty to examine the commissions issued to officers in America, that they might be amended in all cases in which they clashed or interfered with each other, or contained any powers not warranted by the constitution." The next day, Edmund Burke submitted seventeen resolutions condemning the conduct of the ministry, but refraining from outlining a policy. "Lord Hillsborough," said Wedderburn, "is unfit for his office. The nation suffers by his continuance. At the close of the last reign, you had the continent of America in one compact country. Not quite ten years have passed over, and you have lost

1770 those provinces by domestic mismanagement." The resolutions were rejected except the first, which merely affirmed the existence of recent disorders in the colonies. This was carried by a vote of one hundred and ninety-seven to seventy-nine. The resolutions were also read in the house of lords where the duke of Richmond attacked Hillsborough's conduct. After a feeble defense, Hillsborough moved an adjournment; although the device was unsuccessful, the resolutions were rejected by a large majority.

In Boston
Harbor

On the eighth of September, 1770, Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson received an order, adopted by the king in council on the sixth of July, designating Boston harbor as "the rendezvous of all ships stationed in North America" and directing that Castle William "be delivered up to such officer as Gage should appoint, to be garrisoned by regular troops and put into a respectable state of defence." General Gage designated Colonel Dalrymple as the officer to take charge of the fort. The charter of Massachusetts constituted the governor the commander-in-chief of the militia of the province and authorized him to erect, equip, or demolish forts and fortifications, "and to commit from time to time the custody and government of the same to such person or persons as to him shall seem mete." As Castle William was the property of the province, the royal order was apparently an infringement of the charter. Hutchinson hesitated from Saturday until Monday and then gave the necessary authority to Dalrymple who at once proceeded to the fort. Hutchinson then communicated his instructions to the council who were "struck with amazement" at this new invasion of colonial rights. From the council chamber, the governor hastened to the castle and delivered the keys to Dalrymple. Provincial troops were replaced by regulars, and Castle William remained in control of the commander-in-chief of the British troops until the evacuation of Boston in March, 1776.

Hutchinson's
Silence

The general court met in Cambridge at the end of September, appointed a day of fasting and prayer, and

again asked that they be removed to Boston. In reply, Hutchinson asserted that he was "restrained" from complying, but that he was not confined to Cambridge and was willing to convoke the court at any town in the province which should appear to him most convenient for the members and not opposed to the "spirit" of his instructions. An inquiry by the house, twice made, as to "whether he still held command of the castle," having elicited no satisfactory reply, the council asked for a copy of the instruction under which the governor was acting and of Hillsborough's letter transmitting it, in order that such measures might be taken "as should be judged most advisable to vindicate their character, and prevent any infringements on the charter rights of the province." Franklin was soon chosen agent of the colony, to succeed De Berdt who had died, and a committee of the house was appointed to correspond with the agent and with the speakers of other colonial assemblies. The general court was soon prorogued until November. At the November session, there were renewed inquiries as to whether the lieutenant-governor still held command of Castle William.

After the repeal of the Townshend revenue act, the merchants of New York abandoned their non-importation agreement and sent large orders to England for merchandise, except tea. In other colonies, goods imported contrary to the agreements were waiting to be sold, or were sent secretly about the country with more or less of local connivance. The action of New York aroused much indignation. At a Boston town-meeting, the letter of the New York merchants was torn in pieces. At Princeton, the students of the college tolled the church bell, assembled on the green in their black gowns, and burned the New York letter. Charles Town vehemently denounced the "Revoltors," while Philadelphia sent word to New York that "you would better send us your old liberty pole, for you clearly have no further use for it." Hutchinson welcomed the dispute as tending to break down colonial union.

The
New York
Revoltors

1771 In April, 1771, Hutchinson informed the general court that he had been appointed governor of the province. Notwithstanding the recent controversies, the

Hutchinson's
Promotion



Thomas Hutchinson

appointment was doubtless acceptable to a majority of the people of Massachusetts, for Hutchinson had been born and educated in the colony. The house returned a cordial answer mingled with some pointed suggestions about the "reciprocal duties" of "governor and governed," and the "use of the public power with a view only to the public welfare." Repeated requests for the removal of the court from Cambridge to Boston were denied and the radicals in the house, headed by Samuel Adams, were for doing no business save in Boston; but the majority were opposed to a step that would force a breach with the governor.

A New
Controversy

On the twenty-fifth of April, the house inquired of Hutchinson whether any provision had been made outside the province for his support; for, since he had not approved bills of the present session making the usual grants, nor a bill of the last session appropriating money for his services as lieutenant-governor, "the House are apprehensive that you are under some restraint; and

the house returned a cordial answer mingled with some pointed suggestions about the "reciprocal duties" of "governor and governed," and the "use of the public power with a view only to the public welfare." Repeated requests for the removal



Mrs. Hutchinson

they cannot account for it upon any other principle, but your having provision for your support in some new and unprecedented manner." Hutchinson replied the next day that he had not yet received full instructions, but "that the king, lords, and commons, our supreme legislature, have determined it to be expedient to enable his Majesty to make a certain and adequate provision for the support of the civil government in the colonies, as his Majesty shall judge necessary." He apprehended that the people would not regret this measure of relief from taxation. I 7 7 I

On the nineteenth of June, the house formally protested against this new policy of government by instructions, as illustrated particularly in the arbitrary continuance of the general court at Cambridge and the independent provision for the governor's salary. "By the charter, the governor, with other civil officers, is to be supported by the free gift of the general assembly; and it would be dangerous for so important a trust as that of convening, adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving the general assembly to be placed in any one who is not thus supported by the free grants of the people. . . . If an instruction is as obligatory on a governor as some contend for, or supersede the charter in one instance, it may in a thousand, or in all." A Formal Protest

Another controversy quickly followed. For several years, the salaries of the commissioners of customs had been assessed by the towns in which the commissioners resided. The amount involved was small, but the crown officers had complained and the governor had been instructed "not to consent to any bill with a clause which would authorize taxing the salaries of the commissioners, or any other officers paid by the king." In July, 1771, Hutchinson refused his assent to the tax bill of that year. In a vigorous reply, the house characterized his reason as "surprising and alarming;" declared that "we know of no commissioners of his Majesty's customs, nor of any revenue his Majesty has a right to establish in North America," but that "we know and feel a tribute levied The Exemption of Crown Salaries

1771 and extorted from those who, if they have property, have a right to the absolute disposal of it;" and insisted that the action of the governor was "effectually vacating the charter." The governor was immovable, however, and not only refused his assent to the tax bill, but also negatived the grants made at the previous session to Bolland and the executors of De Berdt, for services as agents of the colony in England. On the fifth of July, the house requested that the general court might be convoked in October next, in order to complete the list of rateable estates in the province, as provided for by an act just passed. "I shall always consult his Majesty's service," replied Hutchinson, "as to the time of meeting the general assembly, and govern myself accordingly." The general court did not meet again until April, 1772.

More British
War-ships

In August, 1771, the fleet in Boston harbor was reinforced by twelve ships of war under Rear-admiral Montagu. A year later, John Adams wrote bitterly of Montagu's "brutal, hoggish manners." "A coachman, a jack-tar before the mast, would be ashamed, nay, a porter, a shoeblack, or chimney sweeper, would be ashamed of the coarse, low, vulgar dialect of this sea officer, though a rear admiral of the blue, and though a second son of a genteel if not a noble family in England. An American freeholder, living in a log house twenty feet square without a chimney in it, is a well-bred man, a polite accomplished person, a fine gentleman, in comparison of this beast of prey." The dispatch of a fleet to Boston was not soothing and the pretext of providing against a possible attack by Spain on the British possessions in America was not convincing. "The tragedy of American freedom is nearly completed," wrote Samuel Adams. "A tyranny seems to be at the very door." In November, Hutchinson issued his thanksgiving proclamation, but the Boston ministers, with one exception, refused to read it. On the next anniversary of the "Boston Massacre," Doctor Joseph Warren delivered a memorable oration, while memorial handbills were freely distributed.

March 5,
1772

Although it was in Massachusetts that the encroachments of Great Britain were most persistently pressed, and there that every infringement of colonial rights was most strenuously resisted, circumstances thus conspiring to bring that colony forward as the leader of the new movement, there were disturbing events elsewhere. The Georgia house of assembly having chosen a speaker who was objectionable to the governor, the choice was negatived. The house declared the act of the governor a breach of their privileges and the governor dissolved it. Hillsborough soon instructed the governor "to put his negative upon any person whom they should next elect for speaker, and to dissolve the assembly in case they should question the right of such negative." The South Carolina commons house of assembly voted a substantial sum of money to Wilkes, the occasion of a violent controversy between the assembly on one hand and Lieutenant-governor Bull and the council on the other. With the approval of the king, Bull withheld his assent from all money bills that were contrary to his instructions, so that no provision for paying public debts was made in the province from December, 1769, until 1774. In 1770, a royal order directed the governor of Virginia, "upon pain of the highest displeasure, to assent to no law by which the importation of slaves should be in any respect prohibited or obstructed." Against this order Virginia solemnly protested in a direct appeal to the king, but without result.

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I 7 7 1

Massachusetts
Leadership

February,
1770

In the
Southern
Colonies

December 9

Massachusetts had also been discussing the propriety and legality of slavery. As early as 1767, the general court attempted to put a stop to the further importation of negroes, but legislative action had been prevented by the opposition of Bernard and Hutchinson, the representatives of the king. A number of slaves, however, obtained their freedom by suits at law, many were emancipated, and a general amelioration of the condition of slaves came about. A decision presently rendered in the English courts was of great indirect service to the cause of freedom. An African negro, named Somerset, had

Lord
Mansfield
and Slavery

1771 been taken by his master from Virginia to England, where he refused to serve. In consequence, he was arrested and put on board a vessel bound for Jamaica. A writ of habeas corpus brought the question before the court of king's bench. In



William, Lord Mansfield

giving the decision, Lord Mansfield said: "The now question is, whether any 'dominion, authority, or coercion can be exercised in this country on a slave according to the American laws. The difficulty of adopting the relation, without adopting it in all its consequences is indeed extreme; yet many of those consequences are absolutely contrary to the municipal law of England. . . . The

state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only by a positive law. . . . It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I can not say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England, and therefore the black must be discharged." The decision was of force only in England, but it made easier the abandonment of slavery in those colonies in which it was not sustained by positive law.

The Carolina
Regulators

After the close of the Seven Years' war, the upper or "back" counties of the Carolinas had increased rapidly in population, chiefly from the immigration of Germans and Presbyterian Scotch-Irish. The Anglican church oligarchy that had long controlled the politics of South Carolina prevented the organization of courts in the new region, thus obliging suitors at law to take long journeys and to incur heavy expenses in prosecuting their claims.

When horse-thieves and other criminals became numerous, the settlers organized local associations called "Regula-



tors" and took the law into their own hands. Some of the inhabitants clamored for courts and jury trial and the two factions were soon at the point of open war. The dispute spread to the older, or "lower," counties where it continued to affect provincial politics until after the beginning of the Revolution.

A more formidable movement developed in North Carolina where bodies of "Regulators" were formed to resist the extortion of the sheriffs in the collection of fees and taxes and to secure redress for other serious grievances. Sheriffs, judges, lawyers, and others were assaulted, courts were broken up, and a reign of terror was inaugurated. In the spring of 1771, Governor Tryon led an armed expedition against the "Regulators" and defeated them in a pitched battle at Alamance near the head-waters of the Cape Fear River. Two hundred "Regulators" were killed and a large number taken prisoners; six of the latter were tried and hanged for treason; little or nothing was done to remove or to mitigate the causes that had brought on the uprising. Governor Tryon, who won much credit by this exploit, was soon transferred to the more important province of New York, and his successor,

The Battle of Alamance

May 16

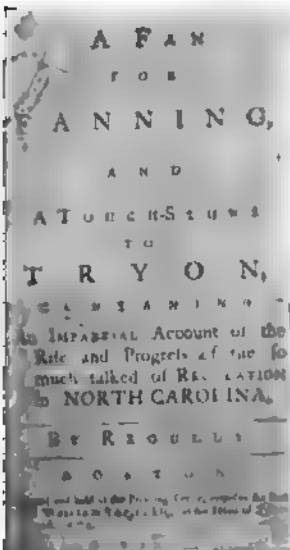
July

1771

Josiah Martin, won back the loyalty of the disaffected inhabitants.

The West

Not all the events of these years, however, were of this sort. On the contrary, there were evidences that the animosity towards the mother country was declining and that the people of America were disposed to resume their



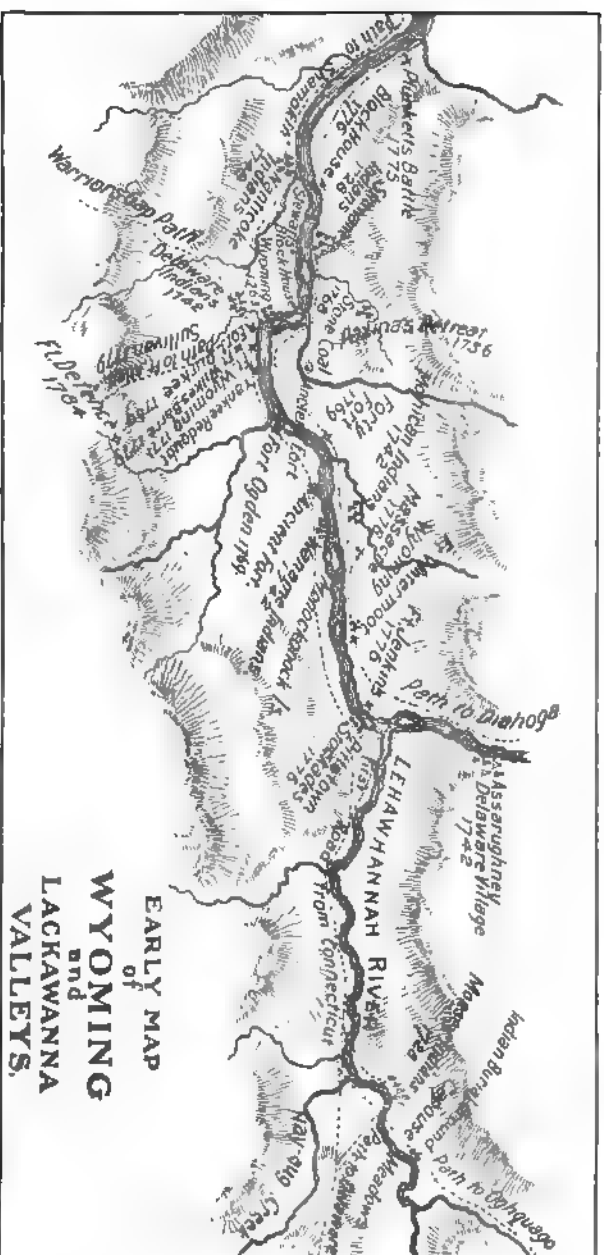
Title-page of a Pamphlet on "Regulation"

former attitude of affection and contentment, provided new causes for irritation did not arise. Moreover, the colonies were growing. The West, in particular, was steadily filling with settlers, who were far more concerned to conquer the wilderness and to make homes for their families than they were to dispute with Great Britain about revenue and tea. After the North Carolina "peasants' rising on account of economic wrongs" had been mercilessly put down at Alamance, many of the "Regulators" crossed the mountains to make for themselves new homes in the wilderness beyond the proclamation line of 1763.

Thus Governor Tryon's refusal to grant needed reforms, pushed hardy pioneers into the valleys of the Kentucky and the Tennessee where the foundations of new states were being laid. Of this opening of the great West, the story will be briefly told in a later chapter.

Wyoming

In 1754, a Connecticut association, known as the Susquehanna company, obtained from the Six Nations a tract of land on the east branch of the Susquehanna River, later known as the Wyoming region. Prior to 1770, several settlements were made, some of which were broken up by the Indians. Pennsylvania also claimed Wyoming, denied the validity of the grant to the Susquehanna company, and itself made grants in the same region. There were



REDAWN FROM PEARCE'S "ANNALS OF LUZERNE COUNTY," PHILADELPHIA, 1866

1771

frequent collisions, but the Susquehanna company held its ground until Connecticut assumed jurisdiction under authority of its charter of 1662, named the settlement Westmoreland, and annexed it to Litchfield County.

January, 1774

Boundary Disputes

Pennsylvania had also a boundary controversy with Virginia over the western frontier. An agreement between Governor Tryon and Governor Hutchinson, relative to the boundary between New York and Massachusetts, east of the Hudson, was reached in 1773, but Massachusetts still retained her claims to land in western New York. As to Vermont, Tryon was less fortunate. That territory had been confirmed to New York by an order in council and organized into counties, but the refusal to recognize the grants made by New Hampshire led to trouble as outlined in the preceding volume.

Education

In 1764, Rhode Island College was chartered by the general assembly of Rhode Island. In 1770, it was removed to Providence, the college building there, later



Brown University in 1793
(A southwest view of the college, garden, and president's house)

known as University Hall, being at the time the largest structure in the colonies. In 1804, the name was changed to Brown University. Queen's College, later known as Rutgers, was established in New Jersey in 1770. Dartmouth College, the outgrowth of Eleazer Wheelock's Indian School at Lebanon, Connecticut, was established at Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1769. The name of the college was given in honor of the earl of Dartmouth, one of the trustees of the funds that had been

collected in England for the school by Sampson Occum, 1 7 7 1
an Indian convert and preacher. But the English endow-
ment did not quiet the promptings of American patriotism.
In 1768, we find the Reverend Jacob Johnson at Fort
Stanwix "in behalfe of Dr. Wheelock in the cause of
propegateing the Gospel among the Indians" of the Six
Nations. Mr. Johnson seems to have given offense to
Sir William Johnson and other "Gentlemen of the Civil
& Military order" by drinking to the health of the king
of New England. On the following day, he wrote in
explanation that he meant the health of George III.,
"and I mean to drink such a Health to his British
Majesty, when occasion serves, so long as his Royal
Majesty shall govern his British & American subjects
according to Magna Charta. . . . But in case his
British Majesty (which God in great mercy prevent)
should superseed and proceed contrary to charter rights
and privileges, & Govern us with a Rod of Iron, & the
mouth of Canons, and make his little finger thicker than
his Fathers loyns, and utterly refuse to hear or consider
our Humble prayers; then, & in that case I should
think it my indispensable Duty to seek a retreat else
where: or joyn with my Countrymen in Forming a new
Empire in America, distinct from, & independent of the
British Empire." I find no record of the degree of
satisfaction given by the "apology."

October 19,
1768





C H A P T E R V I I I

THE BEGINNING OF COLONIAL UNION

Petition and
Prerogative

WHEN the Massachusetts general court met in April, 1772, the dispute about the place of meeting was again revived. In the house, John Hancock offered a motion that ignored the question of right, but merely requested the governor, "in consideration of the inconveniences attending their sitting at Cambridge," to remove the court to Boston. Hutchinson informed the houses that he would not change the place of meeting so long as "the prerogative of the crown to instruct the governor to convene the court at such place as his Majesty may think proper" continued to be denied. The house, in reply, reaffirmed its position and declared that silence "might be construed as tacitly conceding to a doctrine injurious to the constitution, and in effect as rescinding our own record, of which we still deliberately approve." On the twenty-fifth of April, the governor again prorogued the assembly.

Persistently
Protesting

On the twenty-eighth of May, the general court once more assembled at Cambridge and the house once more protested. "The town house in Boston is the accustomed, ancient place for holding the General Assembly, and where alone provision is made for it. It does not appear to us that there was any necessity for convening the assembly in this place, nor can we conceive of any for continuing it here. Without such necessity, the continuing the assembly in any other place than the town house, in Boston, will be a very great grievance and an

undue exercise of your power. And as we cannot, without the greatest inconvenience, proceed to the consideration of the public business in this place, which is very pressing, and greatly in arrears, by reason of the prorogations the last year, we are constrained to lay before your Excellency our earnest request that you would be pleased to remove the assembly to the town house in Boston." 1 7 7 2

Hutchinson desired to know whether the remark about "necessity" referred to the first convocation of the court in Cambridge or to the present one, to which the house replied that they thought the expression "sufficiently clear and plain." The governor responded that "whilst you dispute the authority by which I removed the court from Boston, I do not intend to carry it thither again." In the account of the episode given in his "History," Hutchinson admits that he acted "suddenly and imprudently," that "both council and house charged him with too critical a distinction," and that "several of his friends were hurt by it." He accordingly laid his instructions before the council and requested their opinion whether he might remove the court to Boston. The council "were unanimously of opinion that he might," and, on the thirteenth of June, the court was adjourned to meet three days later at Boston. "Thus," writes Hutchinson, "one of the alleged grievances was removed, but not with so good grace as if the desire of the house had been immediately complied with."

Hutchinson
Gives Way

Under pretense of suppressing smuggling, the "Gaspee," an English armed vessel commanded by Lieutenant Dudingston, had for some time been arbitrarily searching vessels in the waters of Narragansett Bay. Stephen Hopkins, the chief-justice of Rhode Island, had given his opinion "that any person who should come into the colony, and exercise any authority by force of arms, without showing his commission to the governor, and, if a custom-house officer, without being sworn into his office, was guilty of a trespass, if not piracy;" but Admiral Montagu, to whom Dudingston appealed, declared that the latter had "done his duty," and that if the people of

The Burning
of the
"Gaspee"

1772 Newport attempted to rescue any vessel, "and any of them are taken, I will hang them as pirates." On the ninth of June, the "Gaspee" ran aground off what is now Gaspee Point. Word was quickly sent to Providence,



Tenant and
Landlord

Silver Goblet saved from
the "Gaspee" by Cap-
tain Abraham
Whipple

and, on the following night, a party headed by Captain Abraham Whipple and John Brown—the leading promoter of the recent Rhode Island college enterprise—boarded the vessel, set the crew on shore, and burned the hated craft to the water's edge. Thus did Rhode Island carry colonial resistance far beyond the point to which it had elsewhere attained.

On the sixth of June, while the Massachusetts general court was still in session at Cambridge, the house again asked the governor if any provision, other than the customary legislative grant, had been made for his salary. In reply, Hutchinson informed the house that the king had made provision for his support as governor and that he could not accept a grant from the colony. In July, the house, in an elaborate report, declared "that the governor's having and receiving his support, independent of the grants and acts of the general assembly, is a dangerous innovation, which renders him a governor not dependent on the people, as the charter has prescribed, and consequently not, in that respect, such a governor as the people consented to at the granting thereof;" and entered a solemn protest against the "innovation." When, a few days later, the governor called the attention of the house to the "ruinous state" of the executive mansion, he was informed that "that building was procured for the residence of a governor whose whole support was to be provided for by the grants and acts of the general assembly, according to the tenor of the charter;" and that, so long as he accepted a salary from the crown, no repairs would be made.

Another Step On the seventh of August, Hillsborough wrote to

Hutchinson that the king "had made provision for the support of his law servants in the Province of Massachusetts Bay." As the colonial judges held their offices at the pleasure of the king, the payment of their salaries by the crown would put them entirely beyond the reach of the popular will and tend strongly to make them dependent upon the royal favor. Hillsborough had lost influence with both king and ministry and now resigned his office as secretary of state for the colonies and became the earl of Harwick. His successor, William Legge, earl of Dartmouth, was well disposed towards America; but his education and training in public life were of the conventional English type and he distrusted the colonial leaders and their aims as heartily as did his predecessors.

The general court was not in session when Hillsborough's letter arrived at Boston. A town-meeting was accordingly summoned and met on the twenty-eighth of October, with John Hancock as moderator. The meeting voted an address to the governor asking whether he had received any advices that the judges were henceforth to be paid by the crown; but Hutchinson, who regarded the meeting as unwarranted, declined to submit his official correspondence for its consideration. The inhabitants then voted a second address denouncing the proposed action as contrary to the charter and praying



Dartmouth
Succeeds
Hillsborough

EARL OF DARTMOUTH.

*Your most Obedient
Humble servant*
Dartmouth

A Boston
Town-
Meeting

1 7 7 2 that the matter might be laid before the general court which had been prorogued to the second of December. The governor replied that he had already decided further to prorogue the court and that to do as he was now requested "would encourage other towns to determine upon the proper time for the assembly to meet, or to transact any other matters which the law has not made the business of a town meeting." The meeting unanimously voted this reply unsatisfactory and resolved that the inhabitants of Boston "have ever had, and ought to have, a right to petition the king for the redress of such grievances as they feel, or for preventing such as they have reason to apprehend, and to communicate their sentiments to other towns."

The Boston
Committee of
Correspond-
ence

On the second of November, Samuel Adams, "the man of the town-meeting," moved "that a committee of correspondence be appointed, to consist of twenty-one persons, to state the rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this province, and to the world, as the sense of this town, with the infringements and violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be, made; also requesting of each town a free communication of their sentiments on this subject." The attendance at the town-meeting was neither unusually large nor specially enthusiastic; there was some opposition, but the motion was carried without a division. As finally constituted, the committee consisted of James Otis, Samuel Adams, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, William Dennie, William Greenleaf, Joseph Greenleaf, Thomas Young, William Powell, Nathaniel Appleton, Oliver Wendell, John Sweetser, Josiah Quincy, John Bradford, Richard Boynton, William Mackay, Nathaniel Barber, Caleb Davis, Alexander Hill, William Molineaux, and Robert Pierpont. Although some of the members were among the best-known patriots in Boston, Hutchinson wrote to Pownall that the committee was in part composed of "deacons," "atheists," and "black-hearted fellows whom one would not choose to meet in the dark."

Thus was launched the famous system of committees of correspondence, destined to become one of the most powerful agencies for cementing colonial union and organizing opposition to Great Britain. As far as the idea was the product of any one mind, it is to be ascribed to Adams; he and Joseph Warren were the leading spirits in the new movement. The action was entirely legal, yet it "virtually created a revolutionary legislative body" that the governor could neither dissolve nor pro-
 rogue, the acts of which he could not veto. The importance of the step was quickly realized by the friends of the crown, one of whom wrote: "This is the foulest, subtlest, and most venomous serpent ever issued from the egg of sedition." The bearing upon the question of union and independence was also obvious. On the day of the appointment of the committee, a writer in the *Boston Gazette* said: "The people in every town must instruct their representatives to send a remonstrance to the King of Great Britain, and assure him, unless their liberties are restored whole and entire, they will form an independent commonwealth, after the example of the Dutch provinces, and offer a free trade to all nations. Should any one province begin the example, the other provinces will follow; and Great Britain must comply with our demands, or sink under the united force of the French and Spaniards. This is the plan that wisdom and Providence point out to preserve our rights, and this alone."

I 7 7 2
 A New and
 Powerful
 Agency

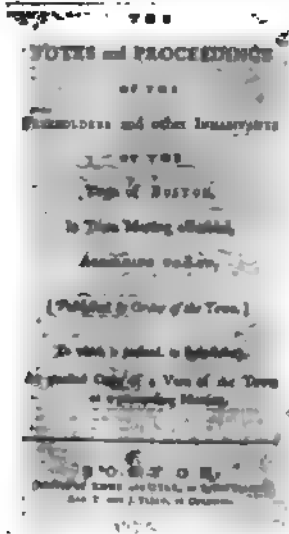
The committee organized with James Otis as chairman—an election that was almost wholly honorary, as Otis was incapacitated for useful service—and William Cooper, town clerk of Boston, as secretary. It was voted "not to divulge any part of the conversation at their meetings to any person whatsoever, excepting what the committee itself should make known." On the twentieth of November, an elaborate report in three parts, the work of Adams, Warren, and Church, was read by Otis to a town-meeting in Faneuil Hall. It was the boldest exposition of American grievances that had been made pub-

The Report
 of the
 Committee

1772

lic and was marked alike by ability and freedom. It was printed as "The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston," and republished in England with a "Preface by the British Editor," i.e., Benjamin Franklin.

The Rights of Man



Title-page of the Pamphlet by Adams, Warren, and Church

The first part, drawn by Adams, set forth the rights of the colonists "as men, as Christians, and as subjects," including "a right to life, to liberty, and to property, together with the right to support and defend them in the best manner they can." The theories of "natural rights" and "social compact," characteristic of the French social philosophy of that day and embodied later in the declaration of independence, were set forth. "All men have a right to remain in a state of nature as long as they please; and, in case of intolerable oppression, civil or religious, to leave the society they belong to, and enter into another. When men enter into society, it is by voluntary consent; and they have a right to insist upon the performance of such conditions and previous limitations as form an equitable original compact. Every natural right not expressly given up, or from the nature of a social compact necessarily ceded, remains. All positive and civil laws should conform, as far as possible, to the law of natural reason and equity."

The Rights of Subjects

As to the rights of the colonists as subjects, the report declares that "all persons born in the British American colonies are, by the laws of God and nature, and by the common law of England, exclusive of all charters from the crown, entitled to all the natural, essential, inherent, and inseparable rights, liberties, and privileges of subjects born in Great Britain, or within the realm. The legis-

lative power is for the preservation of society; and it has no right to absolute arbitrary power over the lives and fortunes of the people; nor can mortals assume a prerogative, not only too high for men, but for angels, and therefore reserved to Deity alone. An independent judiciary is likewise essential. There should be one rule of justice for rich and poor—for the favorite at court and the countryman at the plough. And the supreme power cannot justly take from any man any part of his property, without his consent in person or by his representative." 1 7 7 2

The "list of infringements and violations of these rights," drawn up by Warren, specifies "the assumption of absolute legislative powers; the imposition of taxes without the consent of the people; the appointment of officers unknown to the charter, supported by the income derived from such taxes; the investing these officers with unconstitutional powers, especially the 'commissioners of his Majesty's customs'; the annulment of laws enacted by the court, after the time limited for their rejection had expired; the introduction of fleets and armies into the colonies; the support of the executive and the judiciary independently of the people; the oppressive instructions sent to the governor; the extension of the powers of the Courts of Vice-Admiralty; the restriction of manufactures; the act relating to dockyards and stores, which deprived the people of the right of trial by peers of the vicinage; the attempt to 'establish an American episcopate'; and the alteration of the bounds of colonies by

The List of
Violated
Rights



Birth-place of Warren, Roxbury, Massachusetts

- 1 7 7 2 decisions before the King and Council." The act relating to dockyards and stores, passed in consequence of the burning of the storehouses in the dockyard at Portsmouth, England, was, according to Hutchinson, erroneously supposed to have been occasioned by the burning of the "Gaspee," though actually passed by parliament before that event occurred.

Church's
Letter to the
Towns

The third part of the report, in the form of a letter to the towns, was the work of Church. "A free communication of your sentiments to this town, of our common danger, is earnestly solicited, and will be gratefully received. If you concur with us in opinion that our rights are properly stated, and that the several acts of Parliament and measures of administration pointed out by us are subversive of these rights, you will doubtless think it of the utmost importance that we stand firm, as one man, to recover and support them. . . . But if it should be the general voice of this province that the rights, as we have stated them, do not belong to us, or that the several measures of administration in the British court are no violations of these rights, or that, if they are thus violated or infringed, they are not worth contending for or resolutely maintaining,—should this be the general voice of the province, we must be resigned to our wretched fate. . . . But we trust this cannot be the case. We are sure your wisdom, your regard to yourselves and the rising generation, cannot suffer you to doze, or sit supinely indifferent on the brink of destruction, while the iron hand of oppression is daily tearing the choicest fruit from the fair tree of liberty, planted by our worthy predecessors at the expense of their treasure, and abundantly watered with their blood."

A Grand
Rally

The response from the towns was prompt and general. Plymouth, the first town to choose a committee of correspondence in accordance with the suggestion of Boston, wrote that "we esteem it a virtue to oppose tyranny in all its forms, and will use our utmost endeavors to extricate ourselves from every dangerous and oppressive innovation." Abington declared that "we view ourselves

under indispensable obligations to give our testimony 1 7 7 2
 against all those arbitrary and despotic innovations which 1 7 7 3
 have lately taken place in the province." Cambridge
 "discovered a glorious spirit like men determined to be
 free." Roxbury felt that the rights of the colonists were
 "fully supported and warranted by the laws of God and
 Nature, the Old Testament, and the Charter of the
 Province." The fisher folk of Marblehead expressed
 "their unavoidable disesteem and reluctant irreverence
 for the British Parliament," and "detested the name of
 Hillsborough." Ipswich urged "that the Colonies in
 general and the inhabitants of their Province in particular
 should stand firm as one man, to support and maintain
 all their just rights and privileges." Concord voted that
 "no power on earth can, agreeably to our constitution,
 take from us our rights, or any part of them, without our
 consent." Newton "greatly applauded" the action of
 Boston adding that "as far as in us lies, we would
 encourage your hearts to persevere." The Boston papers
 printed reports of the proceedings of the towns as fast as
 they were received, until eighty had been published.

Hutchinson was "greatly alarmed with so sudden and
 unexpected a change in the state of affairs," and "greatly
 perplexed with doubts concerning his own conduct upon
 the occasion." If he sat still, "he had reason to think
 that he should bring upon himself a charge of conniving
 at proceedings" that he ought "to have checked, by
 every means in his power." On the other hand, he
 knew from experience that if he met the assembly "he
 must bring on an altercation, which they would profess
 themselves desirous of avoiding; and that they would
 charge him with raising a flame in the province, under
 pretense of endeavoring to suppress it." His sense of
 duty led him to choose the latter alternative. In his
 speech to the two houses at the opening of the session,
 he once more elaborated on the constitutional relations
 between the colonies and Great Britain, and the happi-
 ness and prosperity of Massachusetts while the authority
 of the mother country had remained unquestioned. Of

Hutchinson's
 Speech to the
 General Court

January 6,
 1773

1 7 7 3 late, however, "a number of inhabitants, in several of the principal towns in the province, . . . have passed resolves, which they have ordered to be placed upon their town records, and caused to be printed and published in pamphlets and newspapers." For the claims asserted in these resolves, or "the measures taken in consequence of them," he could find no justification. "I know of no line that can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies."

The Answer
of the Council
January 25

The reply of the council, prepared by a committee of which James Bowdoin was chairman, declared that, "though we do not approve of some of their resolves, we think they had a clear right to instruct their representatives in any subject they apprehended to be of sufficient importance to require it." The right of parliament to lay taxes of any kind upon the colony was, however, emphatically denied, and a seeking for independence was expressly disclaimed. "It would give us the highest satisfaction to see happiness and tranquillity restored to the colonies, and especially to see, between Great Britain and them, an union established on such an equitable basis as neither of them shall ever wish to destroy."

The Answer
of the House

The reply of the house of representatives was prepared by a committee of which Samuel Adams was chairman. The report, dated January 26, was the longest and most detailed statement of the patriot position that these stormy years had produced. The charters of the several colonies in America were examined to show that the colonies were not considered as included within the realm of England, but that they were appanages of the crown and, hence, not subject to parliamentary regulation. If "no line can be drawn between the supreme authority of Parliament and the total independence of the colonies," the consequence must be "either that the colonies are the vassals of the Parliament, or that they are totally independent." As the drawing of such a line would be "an arduous under-

taking, and of very great importance to all the other colonies, . . . we should be unwilling to propose it, without their consent in Congress"—a significant suggestion of colonial union. 1 7 7 3

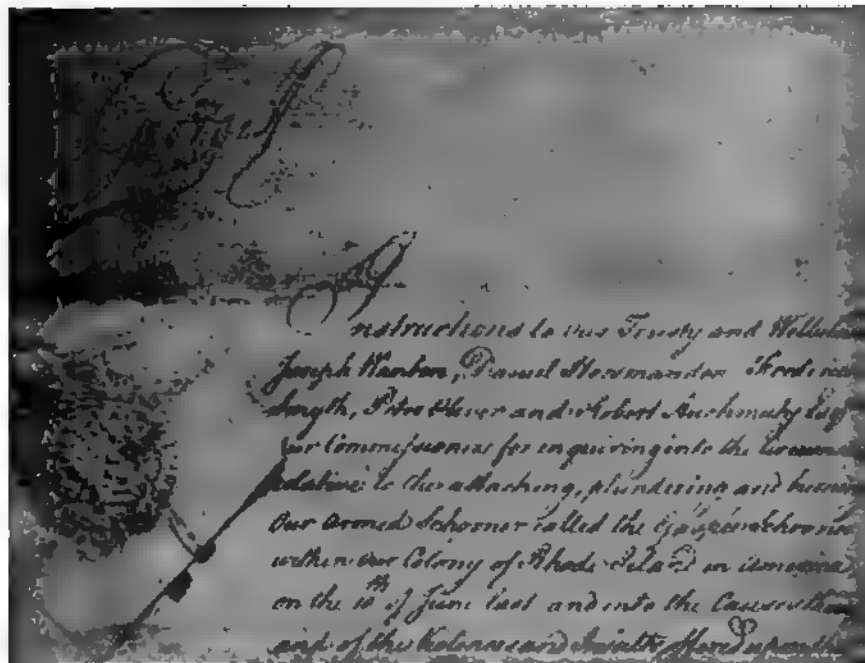
In Hutchinson's opinion, the answer of the house was "plausible and, in many parts of it, ingeniously adapted to the great purpose of obtaining the voice of the people; but it abounded with duplicity and inconclusive reasonings." The governor's lengthy reply to the statements of the general court added little to the argument and, of course, did not heal the breach. Then the house inquired why the assent of the governor had not been given to the grants for judicial salaries, and Hutchinson replied that provision for such salaries had been made by the crown. Thereupon the house expressed the earnest hope "that the justices will utterly refuse even to accept of support in a manner so justly obnoxious to the disinterested and judicious part of the good people of this province." The controversy terminated with the passage by the house of resolutions again condemning the acceptance of judicial salaries from the crown and closing with the significant declaration that any one of the justices of the superior court "who shall accept of and depend upon the pleasure of the crown for his support . . . will discover to the world . . . that he is an enemy to the constitution, and has it in his heart to promote the establishment of an arbitrary government in the province." The salary grants were made, but they were not approved by the governor. Judicial Salaries February 3 March 3

The act for the protection of dockyards and stores, already referred to, provided for the trial in England of persons charged with offenses under the act. A royal order of the fourth of September, 1772, directed the arrest of those who were concerned in the burning of the "Gaspee" and their delivery to Admiral Montagu for transportation to England. To any one who would turn state's evidence, a reward of five hundred pounds with pardon was offered. A commission of inquiry, composed of Montagu, the vice-admiralty judge at Boston, the The "Gaspee" Inquiry

To the Town of Providence in the
County of Providence, State of Rhode Island & Providence
We the Magistrate's Commission appointed on the
by a Commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain
to inquire into and settle the customs and duties of the
saying place, and having in respect to the order
called the Gaspee, to the last day, some time
and having, in the Commission, to the
saying and of the said, with the
the said, and having received information
that from the said, the said, are a matter
likely to be of some consequence, the said
Magistrate's Commission, in the Magistrate's Commission
regarding the said, at the said, in the said
the said, on the said, day of the said, at the said
of the said, in the said, to the said, what the said
the said, under the said, and the said, at the said, the
the said, day of the said, in the said, year of the said, respect
to the said

May 15/54
Peter Phoenix
Notary Public

SUMMONS TO ARTHUR FENNER TO APPEAR BEFORE THE COMMITTEE TO TESTIFY
REGARDING THE BURNING OF THE "GASPER"



occasion to our Officers employed in our Service. Given at Our Court at St. James's the Fourth day of September 1772. In the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

ARTICLE 1st: With these Our Instructions you will receive Our Commission under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, constituting and appointing you Our Commissioners for enquiring into and making Report to Us of all the Circumstances relative to the attacking, plundering and burning the Gaspée Schooner on the Tenth of June last in the Narraganset River within Our Colony of Rhode Island, and to the assembling, arming and leading on the Persons who made the said Attack, and to the concerting and preparing the same; together with all such other Powers and Authorities as are judged necessary for that purpose; You are therefore to take upon you the execution of the Trust reposed in you, and so soon as three or more of you shall have been assembled at Newport within Our said Colony of Rhode Island, you are to cause Our said Commission to be read and published in such manner and form, and with such Solemnity, as are due to the Authority from which it proceeds, and the Important Occasion on which it is issued, using your own discretions as to all such other times and places of your Meetings, according to what shall appear to you, or the major part of you, to be most fit and proper.

2^d: You are to use your utmost Care and Diligence pursuant to the Authorities and Directions contained in Our said Commission in making a very full and particular Enquiry into all the Circumstances relative to the attacking, plundering and destroying Our armed Schooner the Gaspée on the Tenth of June last in the Narraganset River within Our said Colony of Rhode Island, and to the assembling, arming and leading on the Persons who made the said Attack, as also into the Causes and occasions thereof, and into all the Steps that have been taken by the Civil Magistrates in their respective Stations, for the discovery & punishment of the Perpetrators of those heinous Offences, and to those ends you are to summon before you all such Persons as you shall think may be able to give any Information touching the said Objects of Enquiry, and likewise to order all Informations, Depositions or Examinations, which may have been taken & made in Writing touching those Matters, or authentic Copies thereof, to be laid before you, and to make Report to Us, by one of our Principal Secretaries of State, of all your Proceedings, and of what shall appear to you respecting the Conduct of the Magistrates and People of Rhode Island on that occasion.

ROYAL INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED

(We show the beginning and end of this document in :

From original deposited in the offi

3^d: And Whereas the Civil Magistrates and Officers within Our said Colony of Rhode Island are entrusted with the power and Authority to arrest and commit to Custody such of the Persons concerned in the plundering and destroying the Gaspée Schooner, and in the inhuman Treatment of Our Officer who commanded her, against whom any Information shall be taken in order to the said Offenders being sent to England to be tried for that Offence; It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure that you do, from time to time, communicate to the said Civil Officers and Magistrates such Informations as you shall be able to collect touching the Persons concerned in that daring Attack upon our Authority and Commission, to the end that they may be accordingly arrested and delivered to the Custody of the Commander in Chief of Our Ships and Vessels in North America, pursuant to such Directions as We have thought fit to give for that purpose.

4th: And Whereas it is of Importance, with regard to the mode of proceeding against the said Offenders that they should be exactly informed of the Place where the Offence was committed, it will therefore be your Duty to take care in all your proceedings upon this Enquiry as well as in your Reports thereof to Us, by one of our Principal Secretaries of State, to ascertain with the greatest precision whether the Offence was committed and done within the Body of the Colony, and if so, within what County or District thereof, and if not so in what other place the said Offence was committed and done.

5th: And Whereas there may be reason to apprehend, from the outrages which have been committed within Our said Colony of Rhode Island by numbers of lawless Persons, that Insults may be offered to you, It is therefore Our Will and Pleasure that if any Disturbance shall arise with a view to obstruct you in the Execution of your Duty, and any Violence should, in consequence thereof, be offered to you, you do in such Case give immediate Notice thereof to the Commander in Chief of our Forces in North America, & require of him to send such a Military Force into the Colony as you shall judge necessary for your protection, & for aiding the Civil Magistrates in suppressing any Tumults or Riots, and preserving the public Peace.

Lastly It is our Will and Pleasure that you do take an Account, by way of Journal, of all your acts and Proceedings in the Execution of the powers and Direction given to you, and that the Reports which you are to make to Us, by one of our Principal Secretaries of State, of the Proceedings, be in Writing, and signed by any three or more of you.

D INVESTIGATE THE BURNING OF THE "GASPEE"

1 (reduced) and printed copy of the intervening portion)

2e Secretary of State, Providence

chief-justices of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey, and the governor of Rhode Island, was appointed. When the Rhode Island general assembly met at East Greenwich, the governor laid before them his instructions to send the offenders to England. When Stephen Hopkins, the chief-justice of Rhode Island, asked for instructions, he was told to exercise his discretion. "Then," said he, "for the purpose of transportation for trial, I will neither apprehend any person by my own order, nor suffer any executive officers in the colony to do it." The inquiry of the commission was fruitless; no one was arrested; "no one could be found who knew anything about the matter, more than if it had been a case of spontaneous combustion."

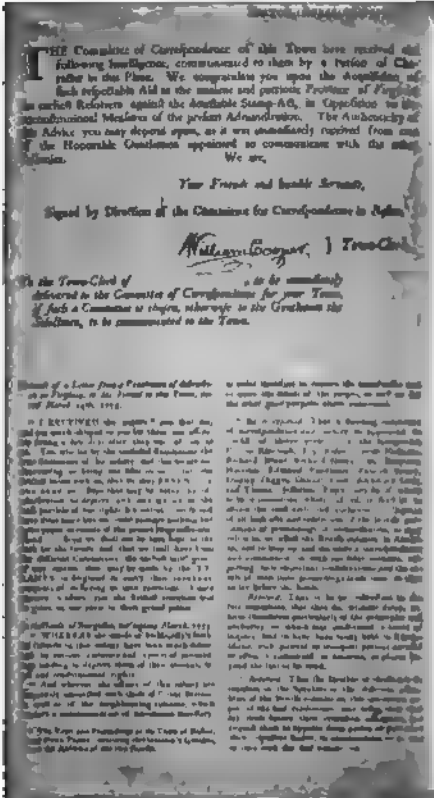
The Virginia house of burgesses met on the fourth of March, 1773, and, having no pressing grievance of its own to deal with, turned its attention to Rhode Island. Some of its members, among them Thomas Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, and Dabney Carr, met at the Raleigh Tavern to consider what should be done. "All were sensible," wrote Jefferson later, "that the most urgent of all measures was that of coming to an understanding with all the other colonies to consider the British claims as a common cause to all, and to produce a unity of action; and, for this purpose, that a committee of correspondence in each colony would be the best instrument for intercommunication." On the twelfth, resolutions were unanimously adopted by the house for the appointment of a committee of eleven persons, "to keep up and maintain a correspondence and communication with our sister colonies, respecting these important considerations; and the result of such their proceedings, from time to time, to lay before this House." The "principles and authority" on which the "Gaspee" court of inquiry was established were to be particularly inquired into. Governor Botetourt had died in 1770. His successor, Lord Dunmore, now hastily prorogued the house, but the members met and, framing a circular letter to the speakers of the several assemblies, sped the resolutions on their way.

A Colonial
Committee of
Correspond-
ence

148 The Beginning of Colonial Union

1773 With the adoption of the Virginia plan by other colonies, the laying of the foundations of colonial union may be regarded as well begun. The

local committees of Massachusetts, though reaching to the limits of that province, had not yet been imitated elsewhere. The establishment of colonial, as well as local, committees throughout the country must necessarily go before the union of which some had dreamed and about which a few had ventured to talk. The Boston committee sent printed copies of the Virginia resolves to all the towns, "to gladden the hearts of all who are friends of liberty;" and Samuel Adams hoped for "the hearty concurrence of every assembly on the continent." To Mas-



The Virginia Resolves published by the Boston Committee for Distribution in other Towns

Colonial Union on the Way
Six Cooperating Colonies
sachusetts and Virginia belongs the honor of furnishing the two component parts of this weapon of agitation. Virginia had seized the opportune moment; gratifying responses quickly came from the



Thomas Cushing

FRIEND, HIR,

William Lloyd, Mayor
and the citizens of Portland, - with
the aid of the citizens of
Portland & Lewis Bourdeau.

H A T E I M P O R T E D,
and other things, are made and sold
by H. A. Ziegler & Co., 117 N. W. Corner
of First and Broadway at Chicago, A. C. Ziegler & Co.

S O L D.

[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.]


THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

111

...Rural Health Center of Andhra Pradesh

ALL SLAVES,
in Number Times Hundred and Fifty.
Not arrived in the same Vessel, Thomas Green.

JUL 8 T A R R I V E
Came from } ROBERT SPITZ
the OLENDORF family } ALLEXANDER OLENDORF


 A. E. A. N. G. G.
 One Dugbra and Chime
 On the Dugbra and Chime
 A. E. A. N. G. G.

NEGROES,
On Tuesday the Rights Day of 1848.

ALBANY, N. Y. 1872.

THE

[illegible]

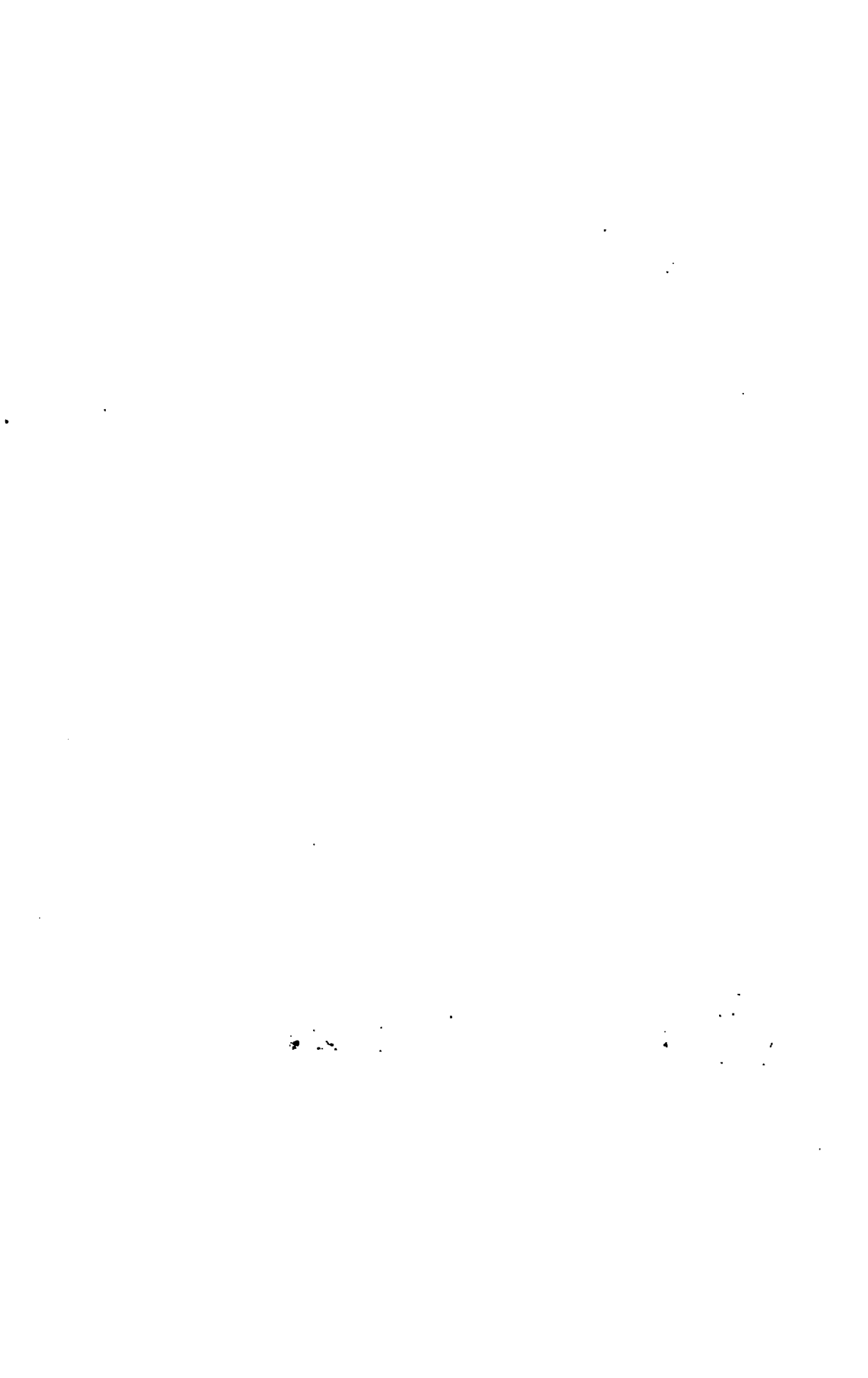
On Monday the 10th, will be sold.

Dudley A. R. T. C. L. B.
 100-102 East 10th St. New York
 Adm. Agency N. E. & W. C. B.
 The New York Times, 100-102 East 10th St.

Do we begin the 9th Day of June
with the 9th of June.

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THE

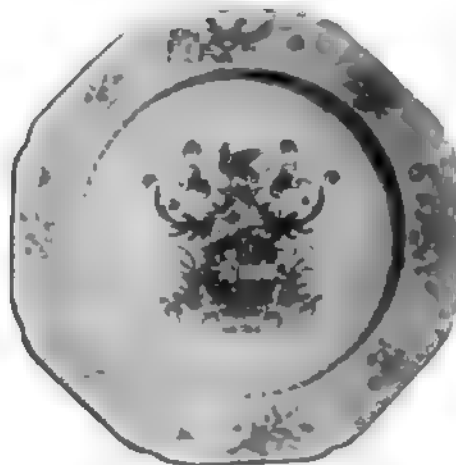


other colonies. The Massachusetts house of representatives expressed "a very grateful sense of the obligations they are under," heartily concurred "in their said judicious and spirited resolves," and appointed a standing committee of fifteen. Among the members were Speaker Cushing, Adams, Hancock, Hawley, Warren, and Elbridge Gerry. Rhode Island and Connecticut affirmed the necessity of union, while New Hampshire and South Carolina promised coöperation. By July, six colonies had appointed such committees and passed similar resolutions.

In Boston, the temper of the people became more and more hostile to Hutchinson and no occasion was lost to make him feel the popular displeasure. It had been the custom for the governor, on election day, to dine publicly at the town-hall with the council and such guests as he saw fit to invite. This year, however, the town-meeting resolved "that, if a committee of his Majesty's council should apply to the selectmen for the use of the hall, they should consent upon these express conditions, that neither the commissioners of the customs and their attendants, nor the officers of the army and navy, stationed here for the purpose of enforcing unconstitutional acts of Parliament by military execution, be invited." The obnoxious persons were invited, but the dinner was held elsewhere.

Meantime, Hutchinson had been unconsciously preparing the way for his downfall. By some means never satisfactorily explained, Benjamin Franklin came into possession of a number of letters written some years before by Thomas Hutchinson who now was governor, Andrew Oliver who now was lieutenant-governor, and

1773
Hutchinson's
Election Day
Dinner



Dinner Plate formerly owned by Governor
Thomas Hutchinson

The Private
Correspond-
ence of a
Public Official

1 7 7 2 others to Thomas Whately, and communicated by him
 1 7 7 3 to Grenville and Lord Temple. Hutchinson's letters
 contained frank comments on men and events, and sug-
 gestions of the steps that ought to be taken to preserve
 the royal authority in the colonies. Thus, when the
 excitement over the enforcement of the revenue act was
 running high, he wrote: "Principles of government
 absurd enough, spread thro' all the colonies; . . .
 the town of Boston met and passed a number of weak
 but very criminal votes; . . . the government has
 been so long in the hands of the populace that it must
 come out of them by degrees, at least it will be a work of
 time to bring the people back to just notions of the
 nature of government." About three months later, he
 wrote again: "This is most certainly a crisis. I really
 wish that there may not have been the least degree of
 severity beyond what is absolutely necessary to maintain,
 I think I may say to you the *dependance* which a colony
 ought to have upon the parent state; but if no measures
 shall have been taken to secure this dependance, or
 nothing more than some declaratory acts or resolves, *it*
is all over with us. The friends of government will be
 utterly disheartened, and the friends of anarchy will be
 afraid of nothing, be it ever so extravagant. . . . I
 never think of the measures necessary for the peace and
 good order of the colonies without pain. There must be
 an abridgement of what are called English liberties.
 . . . I doubt whether it is possible to project a system
 of government in which a colony 3000 miles distant from
 the parent state shall enjoy all the liberty of the parent
 state." Oliver, going further than Hutchinson, had sug-
 gested the creation of a colonial aristocracy, and Paxton,
 one of the commissioners of customs, had called for "two
 or three regiments."

October 4,
1768

January 20,
1769

Letters from
Boston Sent
Back to
Boston

Franklin, the quick-witted agent of Massachusetts
 whom Hutchinson called "their great director in Eng-
 land," obtained permission to send the letters to Massa-
 chusetts, not for publication, but for perusal by certain of
 the patriot leaders there. They were accordingly for-

warded to Cushing, speaker of the house, with a bitter denunciation of the authors of the letters as "mere time-servers, seeking their own private emoluments through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interest not of their native country only, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire." The letters were read by members of the general court and the committee of correspondence. John Adams had them in his possession on the twenty-second of March. "Cool, thinking, deliberate villain, malicious and vindictive, as well as ambitious and avaricious," was his comment. It was impossible that the existence of the letters should be long concealed, and rumor was soon busy with its whisperings and intimations.

On the second of June, the house of representatives being in session and the galleries having been cleared, Samuel Adams said "that he perceived the minds of the people were much agitated by a report that letters, of an extraordinary nature, had been written and sent to England, greatly to the prejudice of this province; that he had obtained certain letters, with different signatures, with the consent of the gentleman from whom he received them that they should be read in the House, under certain restrictions, namely, that the said letters be neither printed nor copied, in whole or in part." The letters were accordingly read and, after consideration, adjudged by a vote of one hundred and one to five to be of tendency and design "to overthrow the constitution of this government, and to introduce arbitrary power into the province."

The Letters
are Read in
the House

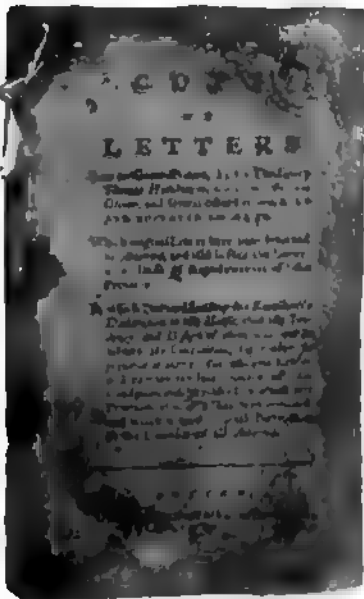
The publication of the letters had become inevitable, but it was necessary to find an excuse for the violation of Franklin's prohibition. According to Hutchinson, "a pitiful expedient" was adopted. Hancock brought into the house certain papers that had been put into his hands by "a person in the street" and that appeared to be "copies" of the letters before the house; he moved that they "might be compared." The next day, a committee reported "that Mr. Adams had acquainted them

A Pitiful
Expedient

1773 that, as copies of the letters were already abroad and had been publickly read, the gentleman from whom the letters were received gave his consent that the house should be fully possessed of them, to print, copy, or make what other use of them they pleased, relying on the goodness of the house that the original letters be returned,

in their own time, they retaining attested copies of the same for their own use."

The letters were accordingly ordered to be printed. Hutchinson afterwards told the king that "the people abroad compelled their publication or would not be satisfied without it." Before they were published, however, the house passed a long series of resolves denouncing the letters and their authors; declaring that the letters must be regarded as public correspondence; that their aim and effect were to prejudice the king and parliament against the province and to aid the arbitrary



Title-page of the Hutchinson Letters

measures that had lately been adopted; and that they showed that there had been, for many years, "measures contemplated and a plan formed, by a set of men born and educated among us, to raise their own fortunes . . . at the expense of the rights and liberties of the American colonies." The king was accordingly humbly prayed to remove Hutchinson and Oliver from their offices "forever." The council adopted resolutions to the same effect and the governor soon put an end to the session of the general court.

In his *History of Massachusetts*, Hutchinson says: "A stand made at this time by government in England, a

June 16

It might have been

stop put to all legislative acts whatever by the prorogation or discontinuance of all assemblies, except for the purpose of restoring and acknowledging the constitutional subordination of the colonies; and a visitation of the colonies by lords and commoners, under the authority of parliament, before the body of the people were engaged in favour of independency, and before the union of government, or of sentiments, was perfected,—might have had the happy effect of restoring peace and quiet, or otherwise must have removed all doubts of the real designs of the leaders of the people; and, in such case, it would certainly have been good policy, either to have left the colonies to their claim of independency, or to have used the means necessary to compel to submission without delay.” But the king and his ministers did not adopt any such policy; they did forsake conciliation and adopt coercion.





C H A P T E R I X

T H E T E A E P I S O D E

Benjamin
Franklin

FRANKLIN'S position in England made his connection with the Hutchinson letters more than ordinarily important. His European reputation as writer, scientist, and publicist exceeded that of any other American colonist. He was agent for Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Massachusetts, maintaining his influence with the latter colony notwithstanding his well-known liberality in religious matters. He had opposed the stamp act, but he neither expected nor favored forcible resistance to it and had little sympathy with the radical leaders who were busily stirring up hatred of England. He desired to conciliate English public opinion and anxiously sought a peaceable solution of existing difficulties. But the course of events drew him into a position where at last he could maintain the case for the colonies as strongly and plainly as any of its most enthusiastic supporters.

A Christmas
Day Avowal

The publication of the Hutchinson letters made a storm in England. Public suspicion was at first directed to William Whately, brother and executor of him to whom the letters had been written. Whately turned upon a Mr. Temple whom Franklin had referred to as "our friend" and who had had access to the papers of Thomas Whately. Temple demanded satisfaction and wounded Whately in a duel. Thereupon Franklin wrote a letter to the London *Public Advertiser* exculpating both Whately and Temple and taking the whole responsibility

December 25,
1773

upon himself. He also undertook to justify his own course and insisted that the letters "were not of the nature of private letters between friends. They were written by public officers to persons in public stations on public affairs, and intended to procure public measures; they were therefore handed to other public persons, who might be influenced by them to produce those measures. Their tendency was to incense the mother country against her colonies, and by the steps recommended, to widen the breach which they effected." The morality of Franklin's course in this affair has been much discussed and with much diversity of opinion.

In August, Franklin presented to Lord Dartmouth the petition of the Massachusetts general court for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. Nothing more was heard of it until after the Christmas Day publication of Franklin's letter. If the ministry had had any suspicions as to Franklin's agency in the publication of the letters, those suspicions were now confirmed. A fortnight later, Franklin was notified that the privy council committee on plantation affairs would hold a hearing on the petition at the Cockpit on the following Tuesday. When the committee met, Franklin, representing that he had regarded the question as one of politics rather than law, asked for time to secure counsel, and the hearing was accordingly adjourned until the twenty-ninth of January. In the interval, Franklin heard rumors that he was to be arrested and imprisoned, that he was to be dismissed from office, and that his papers were to be searched; a private suit by William Whately caused him further annoyance.

The scene in the Cockpit on the twenty-ninth was memorable. Courtiers filled the room, "invited," said Franklin, "as to an entertainment, and there never was such an appearance of privy councillors on any occasion, not less than thirty-five, besides an immense crowd of other auditors," among them, Burke, Bentham, and Priestley. Solicitor-general Wedderburn's speech was marred by the most violent abuse. "Nothing," he

Franklin's
Examination

January 8,
1774

Bull-baiting
in the
Cockpit

I 7 7 3
I 7 7 4

1774 declared, "will acquit Dr. Franklin of the charge of obtaining [the letters] by fraudulent or corrupt means, for the most malignant of purposes, unless he stole them



Alexander Wedderburn, Baron Loughborough

from the person who stole them.

. . . I hope, my Lords, you will mark and brand the man for the honour of this country, of Europe, and of mankind. . . .

Into what country will the fabricator of this iniquity hereafter go with unembarrassed face? Men will watch him with a jealous eye. They will hide their papers from him and lock up their escritaires. Hav-

ing hitherto aspired after fame by his writings, he will henceforth esteem it a libel to be called a man of letters—*homo trium literarum*.^{*} But he not only took away those papers from one brother—he kept himself concealed till he nearly occasioned the murder of the other. It is impossible to read his account, expressive of the coolest and most deliberate malice, without horror. Amid these tragical events, . . . here is a man who, with the utmost insensibility of remorse, stands up and avows himself the author of all. I can compare him only to Zanga, in Dr. Young's 'Revenge':

^{*} *Homo trium literarum*, i. e., a man of three letters; by this the Romans designated a thief; *fur* is the Latin word for thief

'Know then, 'twas I—
I forged the letter, I disposed the picture,
I hated, I despised, and I destroy.'

1774

I ask, my Lords, whether the revengeful temper attributed, by poetic fiction only, to the bloody African, is not surpassed by the coolness and apathy of the wily American?"

Wedderburn's insulting sentences were greeted with laughter and cries of "Hear him! Hear him!" from the councilors present. "The indecency of their behaviour," wrote Shelburne, "exceeded, as is agreed on all hands, that of any committee of elections." Lord North alone retained his dignity. Franklin, who stood throughout the proceedings, showed perfect composure and countenance unmoved. Wedderburn's triumph seemed

The Indecent Councilors

complete. "Alas, Sir! We paid a pretty dear price for that triumph afterwards," said the younger Pitt. The committee voted the Massachusetts petition "false, groundless, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamour and discontent in the province." The report was confirmed by the king in council. On the thirty-first of January, Franklin received written notice from the secretary of the general post-office, informing him that he had been dismissed from his office of deputy-postmaster-general in North



The "Earl Grey" Portrait of Franklin

America. A story that subsequently became current shows how deeply he felt the attack that had been made upon him. He wore at the meeting "a full dress suit of spotted Manchester velvet." It is said that he did not again wear that suit until, in February, 1778, he signed the treaty of alliance between the United States and France.

In the meantime, a more important controversy had

The Tea Tax

1 7 7 3 come to a head. Among the duties imposed by the Townshend revenue act was one of threepence a pound on tea imported into the colonies from Great Britain. When the other duties imposed by the act were repealed in 1770, that on tea was retained. The colonists, although large consumers, would not buy tea through English merchants; most of what they used was smuggled in through the Dutch East India company and other channels. The British East India company had become financially embarrassed. Partly because of the refusal of the Americans to buy, some seventeen million pounds of tea had accumulated in its warehouses. The company thereupon applied successfully to the government for a loan. In 1772, when the act of 1767 was about to expire by limitation, parliament passed an act granting a drawback of three-fifths of the import duties on tea exported to America. Still the Americans would not buy the tea and so, in May, 1773, another act was passed allowing a drawback of all the duties paid on importation into England in the case of tea exported to America. The duty of threepence a pound was retained, however, not because a revenue was expected from it, but because Lord North insisted that the principle of the declaratory act of 1766 should be asserted. The directors preferred to pay the duty in England and be freed from the threepence tax in the colonies, but the king refused to allow it. "There must be one tax," he said, "to keep up the right."

12 George III.
cap. 60

13 George III.
cap. 44

A Business
Risk

If the Americans would buy, the company was now able to sell to them at a fraction of the price of tea in England. Although warned that they could not sell their tea in the colonies, the directors of the company consigned several ship-loads of their accumulated stock to the four principal American seaports with the idea that the low price would result in successful competition with the uncustomed supply. The Americans were fond of tea; they could now buy tea lawfully at a price no greater than that of the tea that they had been buying unlawfully; but this would be an admission of the right

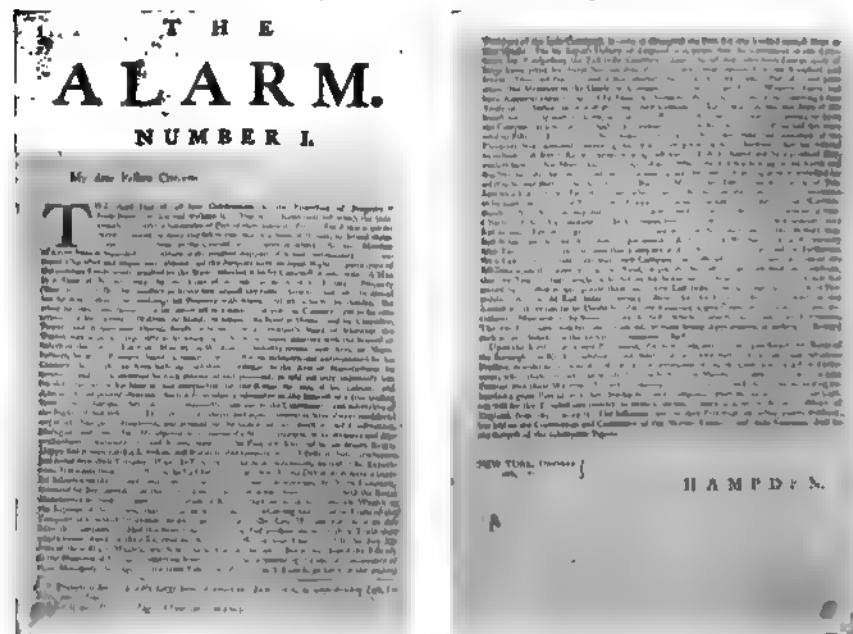
of parliament to tax the colonies. Whatever the state of colonial opinion at the time of the stamp act, eight years of discussion had developed a well-defined opinion that the taxation of the colonies without their consent was unconstitutional. The issue as now presented must be met without evasion.

The colonial leaders were quick to realize the importance of the issue and to plan for concerted action in meeting it. A writer in the *Boston Gazette* urged a congress of the colonies "for the interest of Great Britain as well as their own," and Samuel Adams repeated the proposal. "When our liberty is gone," said Adams, "history and experience will teach us that an increase of inhabitants is but an increase of slaves." The committee of correspondence advised "the confederacy of the whole continent of America." "What oppressions may we not expect in another seven years, if, through a weak credulity, while the most arbitrary measures are still persisted in,

A Secret Committee

August 2

September 23



"The Alarm"—the first of a Series of Papers relative to the East India Company's Monopoly of Trade

1 7 7 3 we should be prevailed upon to submit our rights, as the patriotic Farmer [John Dickinson] expresses it, to the tender mercies of the Ministry?" A month later, Adams wrote to Joseph Hawley of Northampton, one of the most influential men in western Massachusetts: "The subject matter of our complaint is, not that a burden greater than our proportion was laid upon us by Parliament; such a complaint we might have made without questioning the authority of Parliament; but that the Parliament has assumed and exercised the power of taxing us." A secret committee, composed of Adams, Cushing, and Heath, was formed and a circular letter was sent to the other colonies urging them to resist the landing of the tea.

The Voice of
Philadelphia

October 18

The tea had been consigned to merchants at Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and Charles Town. For this purpose, these merchants became agents of the East India company. In Philadelphia, at this time the largest town in America, the opposition to the North ministry was as deep, if not so openly and radically expressed, as was that of Boston. At a public meeting at the state house, eight resolutions were adopted; they "denied the claim of Parliament to tax America; specially condemned the duty on tea; declared every one who should, directly or indirectly, countenance the attempt an enemy to his country;" and requested the agents of the East India company to resign. The agents did not wait for a second request.

Again at
Boston

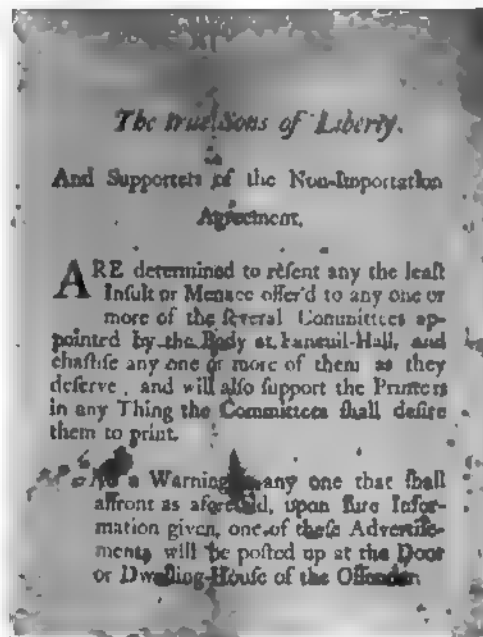
November 3

In response to notices posted about the town, the people of Boston met at the Liberty Tree to hear the expected resignations of the consignees of the tea. The consignees, however, failed to appear, whereupon a committee, with an attendant crowd, waited upon the consignees. Of them the committee demanded, not only the refusal of the tea, but its return to England in the ships in which it came. The consignees unanimously declined compliance and thereby enrolled themselves as "enemies to their country." Two days later, a meeting at Faneuil Hall adopted the Philadelphia resolutions;

voted "that the inhabitants of the town, by all means in their power, will prevent the sale of the teas exported by the East India Company, and that they justly expect no merchant will, on any pretence whatever, import any tea liable to the duty;" and appointed committees to wait once more on the consignees and to request them, "from a regard to their characters, and to the peace and good order of the town, immediately to resign their trust." The consignees again refused in answers that were voted to be "daringly effrontive to the town."

Authentic information of the sailing of the tea-ships, and of their probably early arrival, was received in Boston on the seventeenth of November. The next day, another town-meeting was held and the consignees were once more asked to resign. The consignees replied that the commercial engagements entered into on their behalf by the company in England left them no power to resign. To the dismay of the consignees, the town-meeting abruptly dissolved itself; the matter was now in the hands of the committee of correspondence. Hutchinson was greatly disturbed. He knew that no aid was to be expected from the council and doubted his ability to protect either the persons or the property of the consignees. Moreover, he held that if the ships passed the castle in the

1773



A Warning issued by the Sons of Liberty

The
Tea-ships
Expected

I 7 7 3 harbor, they could not lawfully pass out again without a permit, and that to grant such permit without the cargo having been discharged was, under the acts of trade, beyond his power. He therefore advised that the ships anchor below the castle, and await orders.

Other Towns
Stand by
Boston

On the twenty-second, the committees of correspondence of Cambridge, Dorchester, Roxbury, Brookline, and Boston met and unanimously voted to use their joint influence to prevent the landing and sale of the tea. Letters were sent to the other Massachusetts towns, asking advice as to submission or resistance. On the twenty-sixth, the people of Cambridge voted that, since the town of Boston was "struggling for the liberties of their country," "this town can no longer stand idle spectators, but are ready, on the shortest notice, to join with the town of Boston and other towns in any measure that may be thought proper to deliver ourselves and posterity from slavery." On the following day, resolutions of the same spirited character were adopted by Charlestown. The consignees, meantime, had petitioned Hutchinson to take charge of the tea and thus enable them to relinquish, in form at least, their dangerous trust; they further agreed "to take no steps toward the sale of the tea without permission from the governor and council." As Hutchinson could reach no agreement with the council, the meeting was adjourned from Saturday, the twenty-sixth of November, to the following Monday.

The Arrival
of the
Tea-ship

On Sunday, the ship "Dartmouth," with one hundred and fourteen chests of tea, arrived in Boston harbor and anchored below the castle. The selectmen of the town and the committee of correspondence at once met. Francis Rotch, a Quaker who owned the "Dartmouth," agreed not to enter his ship until Tuesday. A mass-meeting of the inhabitants of Boston and the surrounding towns was called for Monday. The five thousand who came filled Faneuil Hall to overflowing and adjourned to the Old South meeting-house. On motion of Samuel Adams, it was unanimously resolved that "the tea should be sent back to the place from whence it came,

at all events, and that no duty should be paid on it." 1 7 7 3
 The consignees were given until the next morning to consider what they would do and a guard of twenty-five men was appointed to watch the ship during the night.

The consignees again protested that they had no power to return the tea, but offered to store it under the supervision of a committee until advices could be received from the East India company. The offer was rejected as unsatisfactory. The sheriff of Suffolk County, arriving with a proclamation from the governor ordering the meeting to disperse, was greeted with hisses; by a unanimous vote, the meeting continued its session. The owner and the captain of the

"Dartmouth" were compelled to bring the vessel to a designated wharf and to promise that the tea should be returned without unloading or payment of duty. Similar pledges were exacted for the other two ships the arrival of which was daily expected. The guard over the ships was continued and it was voted "that if any person or persons shall hereafter import tea from Great Britain, or if any master or masters of any vessel or vessels in Great Britain shall take the same on board, to be imported to this place, until the unrighteous [tea] act shall be repealed, he or they shall be deemed by this body an enemy to his country; and we will prevent the landing and sale of the same, and the payment of any duty thereon, and will effect the return thereof to the place from whence it shall come." The consignees took refuge in the castle.

To insure united action, reports of what had been done were sent to all the towns in the province; to guard



Old South Meeting-house, from Price's View taken from the plate of 1743 in possession of Dr. James B. Ryer

The Exacted Pledges

An Unambiguous Notice

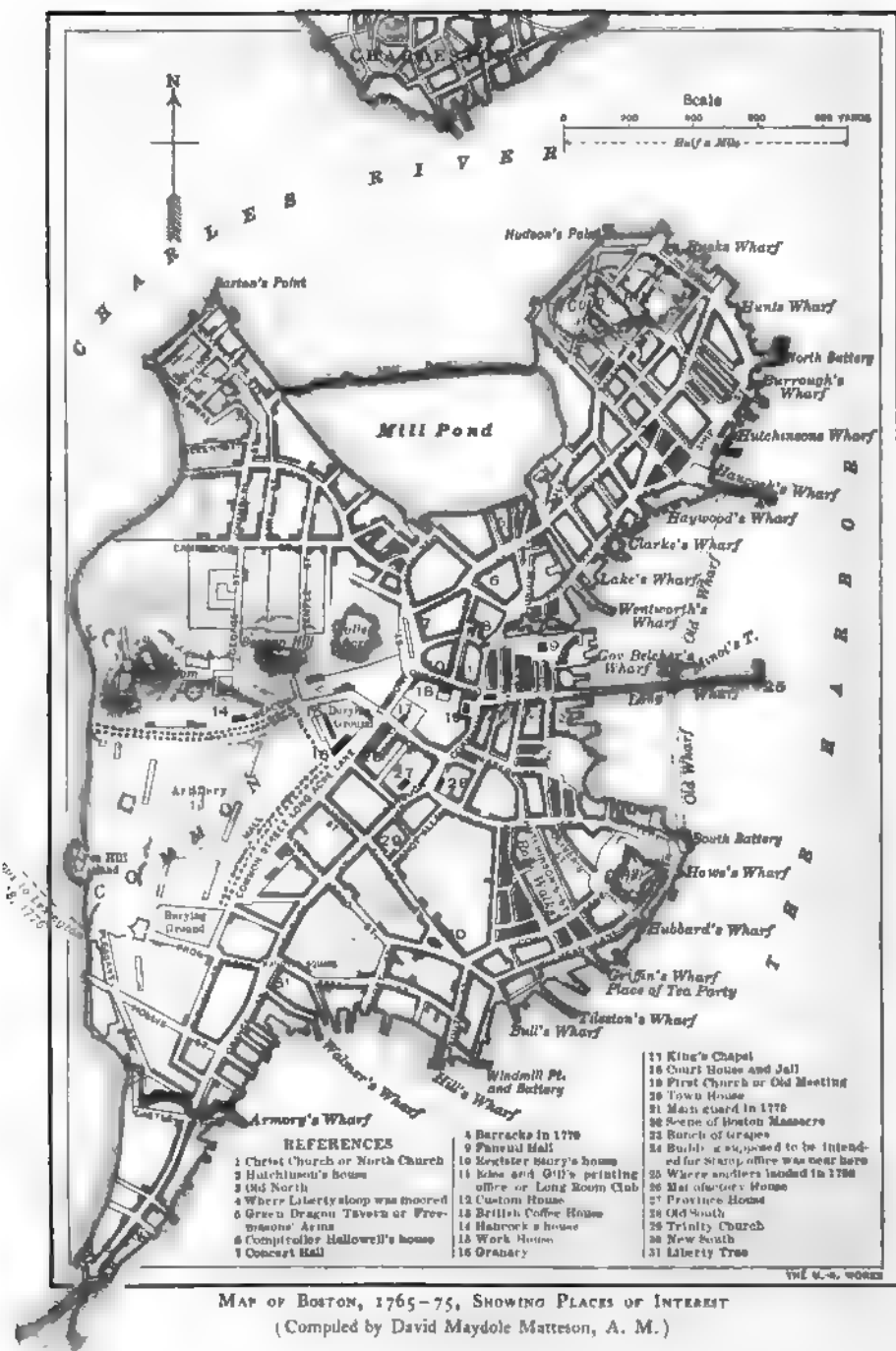
1 7 7 3 against surprise, a military watch was kept at night and six post-riders were held in readiness to notify the country towns. When the other two tea-ships arrived, they were compelled to lie beside the "Dartmouth" where all three were kept under guard. New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and Pennsylvania were informed of the proceedings, and their advice and coöperation were solicited. Notices were posted about the town reminding the public of the vote of the town-meeting "that the said tea never should be landed in this province, or pay one farthing of duty," and declaring that "as the aiding, or assisting, in procuring, or granting, any such permit for landing the said tea, or any other tea so circumstanced, or in offering any permit, when obtained, to the master or commander of the said ship, or any other ship in the same situation, must betray 'an inhuman thirst for blood,' and will also, in a great measure, accelerate confusion and civil war; this is to assure such publick enemies of this country, that they will be considered and treated as wretches unworthy to live, and will be made the first victims of our resentment."

Between the
Devil and
the Sea

The situation was certainly difficult for the consignees. If the tea was landed, it was sure to be seized and destroyed; until it was landed, the collector could not grant clearance papers for its return to England; if the vessels attempted to sail without a clearance, they would probably be stopped by the ships of war in the harbor; and failure to enter the tea and to pay the duty within twenty days of its arrival would subject both the vessels and their cargoes to seizure.

Seeking a
Clearance
Permit

On Saturday, the eleventh of December, Rotch was summoned before the committee of correspondence to explain why he had not sent the "Dartmouth" back to England, as he had agreed to do. He replied that it was impossible. On the following Tuesday, a Boston mass-meeting that was attended by many from the neighboring towns, forced Rotch to apply to the collector of customs for a clearance, Adams and others accompanying him to support the application. The col-



1773
December 16

lector delayed answer until the next day when he refused to issue the clearance unless the tea was first discharged. On Thursday, the meeting reassembled at the Old South meeting-house, sent Rotch to the governor's country-seat at Milton to ask for the desired permit, and took a recess. When the meeting reconvened at three o'clock, Rotch had not returned. The crisis was evidently approaching, Josiah Quincy counselled moderation, but the people were with Adams and unanimously voted that the tea should not be landed. The question, "Who knows how tea will mingle with salt water?" was received with tumultuous applause.

The Boston
Tea-Party

It was dark before Rotch returned from Milton. When he reported that Hutchinson had refused to grant a permit, Adams arose and quietly said: "This meeting



Punch Bowl used by the Boston "Tea-Party" on the Afternoon before the Tea was thrown Overboard

can do nothing more to save the country!" There was a momentary silence; then, with a shout of "Hurrah for Griffin's wharf!" from the gallery and a war-whoop at the door, the crowd rushed for the wharf. There forty or fifty men, disguised as Indians, with guards posted to prevent interference, boarded the ships, and, in two or three

hours, emptied into the harbor the contents of three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, valued at about eighteen thousand pounds sterling. There was no delay or confusion and very little noise. The smoothness of the performance suggests a master playwright and frequent rehearsals. When the work had been completed, the crowd quietly dispersed, and, before daybreak, Paul Revere was riding post to Philadelphia with "the glorious news that Boston had at last



China Tea-caddy, which holds some of the Tea found in the Pockets and Boots of Colonel John Crane



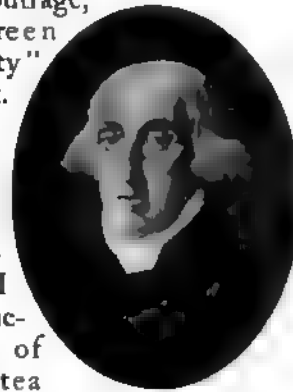
George Robert Twelves Hewes, Member of the Boston Tea-Party

thrown down the 1773 gauntlet for the king to pick up." Lists of "The Indians," compiled from family traditions, have been printed, but an authoritative answer to the oft-asked question, "Who emptied the tea?" has not yet been given.

Some English historians have quite failed to apprehend the significance of the incident. Lecky speaks of the "tea riot at Boston" as "an outrage," and Green

Its Character

alludes to it as a "trivial riot." The "tea-party" was not a riot; it was not at all like a riot. Hutchinson rightly characterized it as "the boldest stroke which had yet been struck in America." John Adams declared that "this is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity, in this last effort of the patriots, that I greatly admire." In his judgment, the destruc-



Thomas Melville, Member of the Boston Tea-Party



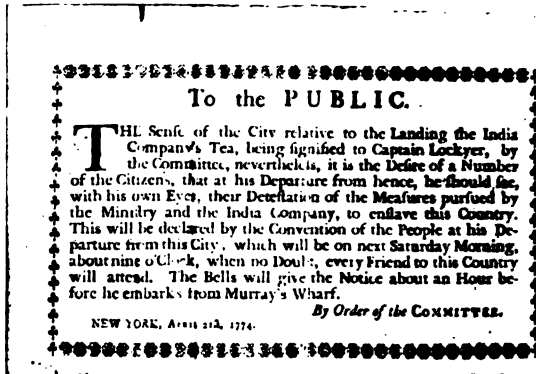
Pocket-book of Colonel Abner Cheever, Member of the Boston Tea-Party

tion of the tea was "absolutely and indispensably" necessary. "There was no other alternative but to destroy it or let it be landed." John Fiske's judgment

1773 is that "for the quiet sublimity of reasonable but dauntless moral purpose, the heroic annals of Greece and Rome can show no greater scene than that which the Old South Meeting-House witnessed on the day when the tea was destroyed."

At Other
Ports

At New York, the consignees of the tea refused to receive the cargo, whereupon a vigilance committee took charge of it and sent it back to England in the ship in which it came. A few chests brought in as a private



Handbill issued by the New York Vigilance Committee

speculation were discovered and thrown into the river. The captain of the tea-ship sent to Philadelphia, having heard at Chester of what had taken place in Boston, returned at once to England. At Charles Town, in spite of popular opposition and the resignation of the agents, the tea was secretly landed and stored in damp vaults under the custom-house where it spoiled. In various places, clandestine dealers in tea were brought before committees and punished. Sometimes the tea itself was hanged upon a gallows and then burned, it being "thought dangerous to let the said tea hang all night for fear of invasion from our tea-lovers." More than a year later, a Hartford tradesman advertised "tea (I ask pardon) *coffee* kettles."

Hutchinson
and the
Council

The day after the "tea-party," Hutchinson called a meeting of the council, but failed to get a quorum. Aware of the popular feeling against him, he spent the night in the castle. The next day, he made another unsuccessful attempt to secure a council meeting, this time at Milton. Three days later, the council met at

Cambridge, but, beyond directing the attorney-general to lay the matter of the tea before the grand jury, did nothing.

TO THE DELAWARE PILOTS.

TH E Regard we have for your Characters, and our Desire to promote your future Peace and Safety, are the Occasion of this Third Address to you.

In our second Letter we acquainted you, that the Tea Ship was a Three Decker; We are now informed by good Authority, she is not a Three Decker, but an old black Ship, without a Head, or any Ornaments.

The Captain is a short fat Fellow, and a little obstinate withal.—So much the worse for him.—For, so sure as he rides rusty, We shall heave him Keel out, and see that his Bottom be well fired, scrubb'd and paid.—His Upper-Works too, will have an Overhawling.—and as it is said, he has a good deal of *Quick Work* about him, We will take particular Care that such Part of him undergoes a thorough Rummaging.

We have a still worse Account of his Owner;—for it is said, the Ship *POLLY* was bought by him on Purpose, to make a Penny of us; and that *he* and Captain *Ayres* were well adviced of the Risque they would run, in thus daring to insult and abuse us.

Captain Ayres was here in the Time of the Stamp-Act, and ought to have known our People better, than to have expected we would be so mean as to suffer his rotten *TEA* to be funnel'd down our Throats, with the *Parliament's Duty* mixed with it.

We know him well, and have calculated to a Gill and a Feather, how much it will require to fit him for an *American Exhibition*. And we hope, not one of your Body will behave so ill, as to oblige us to clap him in the Cart along Side of the *Captain*.

We must repeat, that the *SHIP POLLY* is an old black Ship, of about Two Hundred and Fifty Tons burthen, without a Head, and without Ornaments,—and, that *CAPTAIN AYRES* is a thick chunky fellow.—As such, TAKE CARE to AVOID THEM.

YOUR OLD FRIENDS,

THE COMMITTEE FOR TARRING AND FEATHERING.

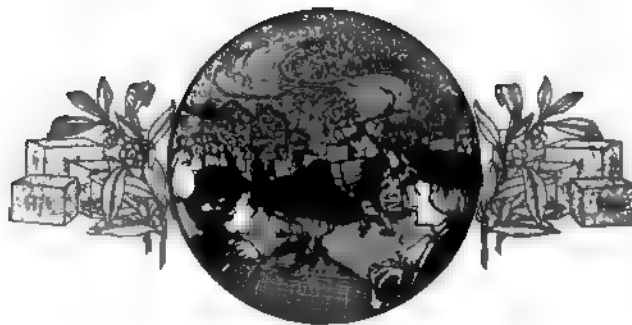
Philadelphia, December 3, 1773.

Handbill issued by the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee

ing. The general court was not to meet for a month. Before that time, two other consignments of tea arrived; one was landed at the castle and the other was thrown into the harbor.

On the seventeenth of December, John Adams wrote in his diary: "What measures will the Ministry take in

1 7 7 3 consequence of this? Will they resent it? Will they
What Will dare to resent it? Will they punish us? How? By
the Harvest quartering troops upon us? by annulling our charter? by
Be? laying on more duties? by restraining our trade? by sac-
rifice of individuals? or how?" The ministry was not
long in giving answers to these nervous questions.





C H A P T E R X

O V E R T H E M O U N T A I N S

THE struggle for political rights did not absorb all the energies of all the colonists of this period. While British ministries were unwisely arousing a spirit that was to result in the disruption of the empire, the pioneers of the western border were beginning a movement that was to result in the settlement of the great valley beyond the mountains—an historical event almost or quite as important as the Revolution itself.

Since the formation and practical failure of the Ohio company, a number of schemes had been formed for establishing colonies in the new region. Soon after the Albany congress of 1754, Benjamin Franklin projected two colonies, to be settled under charters from the king, one in what is now northeastern Ohio and northwestern Pennsylvania, the other in the region of the Scioto River. Franklin's plan came to nothing, as did that of Samuel Hazard, a Philadelphia merchant, who wished to obtain a charter to all of the Ohio valley and part of the Mississippi valley and to settle there a colony in which only Protestants could hold office and in which Roman Catholics should be debarred from owning land or having "Mass Houses or Popish Chappels." The suggestion of the writer of a pamphlet published at Edinburgh at the close of the French and Indian war that the western boundary of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania should be a line extending up the Maumee and down

Unfruitful
Projects

1 7 5 4 the Wabash and the Ohio to the Mississippi, and that
 1 7 6 8 beyond this there should be established a new colony
 "which might be called Charlottiana, in honor of Her
 Majesty our present most excellent Queen," also went
 unheeded.

The Royal
 Purpose

About the same time came the king's proclamation reserving "for the present" the country "beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the west or northwest" for the use of the Indians. Some have supposed that this proclamation was designed to restrain westward settlement permanently, but the king probably intended it merely as a temporary expedient for securing the rights and quieting the minds of the Indians until a permanent arrangement should be made by treaty. Subsequent events bear out

1764

this view. Bouquet's treaty of the next year provided for the withdrawal of the Indians living south of the Ohio to the region north of it—an extremely important step in clearing the way. In 1768, the Six Nations sold to the proprietors of Pennsylvania an extensive tract on the western borders of their province and, by the treaty of Fort Stanwix, ceded to the crown their claims to what is now the state of Kentucky east of the Tennessee River (then generally called the Cherokee) and a large part of West Virginia.

November 5

The Vandalia
 Company

Among other colonizing schemes that were now brought forward was one in which Thomas Walpole and Benjamin Franklin were interested. After some negotiation, the lords of the treasury agreed, in consideration of the sum of ten thousand pounds, to convey to the company practically all of what is now West Virginia and so much of what is Kentucky as lay east of a line drawn from the mouth of the Scioto to Cumberland Gap. The bounds included the grant to the old Ohio company, but the English agent of that company agreed to merge that company's interest in the new project. The new company also agreed to grant the two hundred thousand acres that had been promised to Washington and those who had served under him in the first campaign of the

Received from the
 Honble Thomas and Richard
 Penns the sum of two thousand Dollars being the
 full consideration of the Lands lately sold to them by
 the Indians of the Six Nations at the late Treaty of
 Fort Stanwix We also received this Twenty Fifth
 Day of July the sum of one hundred and seventy nine
 and the other Indians of the Six Nations and their confederates
 and dependent Tribes for whom we act and by whom
 we are appointed and empowered —

Received from the honorable Thomas and Richard
 Penns the sum of two thousand Dollars being the
 full consideration of the Lands lately sold to them by
 the Indians of the Six Nations at the late Treaty of
 Fort Stanwix We also received this Twenty Fifth
 Day of July the sum of one hundred and seventy nine
 and the other Indians of the Six Nations and their confederates
 and dependent Tribes for whom we act and by whom
 we are appointed and empowered —

Witnessed at
 Albany the 25th Day of July 1784
 Signed by the Commissioners

Attest
 John Jay
 Secretary

For the Mohawks
 Ganeio
 Sagoyew
 Sagoyew
 Sagoyew
 Sagoyew
 Sagoyew
 Sagoyew

Anahigogah
 Onghronon
 Onghronon
 For the Cayuga Nation
 by the day of the whole
 Anahigogah
 Sagoyew

- 1 7 6 9 French and Indian war. Lord Hillsborough and Governor Dunmore opposed the project, but, after long delay, the king in council gave it his approval. At the same time, the bounds of the projected colony were extended to the Kentucky River. By the spring of 1775, a royal charter was ready for execution, but the outbreak of rebellion wrecked Vandalia. The incident, however, shows that the home government was willing to create new colonies in the great central valley; Virginia merely insisted that private claims in that region be respected.

No-Man's-
Land

Meanwhile, the actual "Winning of the West" to civilization was going on in a more informal manner. The first region to receive permanent settlers was the "great hill-strewn, forest-clad valley" that lies between the Great Smoky, the Unaka, and the Cumberland mountains; the source of the Holston, the French Broad, the Watauga, and other streams that unite to form the Tennessee. It was a part of what had been No-man's-land, territory claimed by many tribes and held by none. Through the valley ran the great war trail of the Cherokees and their northern foes. Shooting off through Cumberland Gap and across Kentucky to the Ohio, was another trail or "trace" known as the Warrior's Path. The existence of this neutral zone between the northern and the southern Indians is a fact of great importance, the key that threw open the gate and gave a vantage ground from which the West was won. After they had crossed the mountains, the pioneers of Tennessee and Kentucky simply followed the lines of least resistance, a sort of wedge pushed westward between formidable foes on either hand.

The Pioneers
of Tennessee

About the beginning of 1769, settlers from Virginia began to follow the watercourses down the valley and to settle on the banks of the Watauga River. Reinforcing these, came others across the mountains from North Carolina. Most of these pioneers were backwoodsmen of sturdy Scotch-Irish stock, venturesome and turbulent, but brave, determined, and religious, good hunters and good fighters. Among them was James Robertson, two

years married and now "learning his letters and to spell from his well-educated wife." In the summer of 1770, he raised a crop of corn on the Watauga and, late in the fall, returned to North Carolina. In the spring, he came back with sixteen families, "the men on foot, rifle on shoulder, the elder children driving the lean cows, while the women, the young children, and the few household goods and implements of husbandry were carried on the backs of packhorses." The newcomers were well received; by reason of his gifts for leadership, Robertson became one of the most influential men of the settlement.

Within a year or so, the settlement was strengthened by the coming of Evan Shelby and John Sevier. Shelby was a cattleman whose Welsh blood had been invigorated by his frontier mountain life. Sevier, the son of a Huguenot settler of the Shenandoah valley, had a fair education and was a "gentleman" by birth and breeding. He brought to the Watauga his wife and two children and on the Nolichucky built a great rambling house of logs famous as "Nolichucky Jack's house." He became the most renowned Indian fighter of the region; his pleasing manners, tact, courtesy, and lavish hospitality gave him almost unbounded influence among the settlers. He was ambitious and "almost as fond of popularity as of Indian fighting."

At first, the settlers thought that they were within the boundaries of Virginia, but, in 1771, they discovered that they were in territory claimed by North Carolina. The discovery had important political results. With the better class of honest Presbyterians were now mingled escaped bond-servants, runaway debtors, horse-thieves, and murderers—the scum that always floats in the wake of an advancing army or frontier. The better class felt the need of protection against this lawless element. Furthermore, there was danger from the Indians. The settlers could now expect no help from Virginia, and it would be useless to turn to North Carolina, for that colony, always turbulent and disorderly, was now emerg-

1 7 7 0
1 7 7 2

Shelby and
Sevier

The Watauga
Constitution

1 7 7 2 ing from the "Regulator" troubles. Early in the spring
 1 7 7 8 of 1772, with plain, common sense and apparently under
 the leadership of Robertson, the settlers formed and
 adopted "The Articles of the Watauga Association," the
 first written constitution, says Mr. Roosevelt, "ever
 adopted west of the mountains or by a community com-
 posed of American-born freemen."

The Watauga
 Common-
 wealth

Under this constitution, the people elected a legislature of thirteen members, and the thirteen chose five arbitrators or commissioners with judicial and executive functions; Robertson and Sevier were of the five. Virginia law was recognized as the standard, but judicial proceedings were characterized more by regard for equity than for ordinary legal form. This government, equally simple, sensible, and remarkable, continued in full vigor for six years. It secured from the Cherokees an eight-years' tenure of the land on which the settlements lay, and maintained peace at home and with the Indians in spite of the deeds of bad men of both colors. In August, 1776, Watauga petitioned North Carolina to be allowed to come under its protection, and, two years later, the region was organized into Washington County. Sevier and his associates were continued in authority as justices of the peace and militia officers.

The Pioneers
 of Kentucky

While the foundations of the state of Tennessee were being thus laid, other men, equally hardy and venture-some, were exploring and settling what was to be her next-door neighbor. For years, stray hunters and explorers, most of whose names have been forgotten, had made occasional incursions into the "dark and bloody ground" that served as the battle-field and game preserve of the red tribes of the north and of the south. In 1750, Doctor Thomas Walker of Virginia made a trip to the headwaters of the Kentucky River and discovered and named Cumberland Gap. Later in the same year, Christopher Gist, the agent of the Ohio company, passed through Ohio westward to the Great Miami and, early in 1751, turned southward from the mouth of the Scioto into Kentucky. John Finley subsequently visited the region.

In 1765, George Croghan descended the Ohio, and, in the following year, James Smith, who had been a prisoner in Fort Duquesne at the time of Braddock's defeat, explored parts of Kentucky and Tennessee.

Finley's account of the wonders of the new country stirred the interest of Daniel Boone, who, though neither the first explorer nor the first settler of Kentucky, has been generally regarded as her foremost pioneer. Boone was born in 1734, of Quaker parents, in the valley of the Schuylkill. When he was seventeen years of age, his parents moved from Pennsylvania into the valley of the Yadkin in North Carolina. In 1755, he was a wagoner in Braddock's expedition and escaped from the battle-field on horseback. Somewhat later, he married and varied his work as a farmer by long trips of hunting and exploration. Until recently, there stood on the bank of Boone's Creek, a small tributary of the Tennessee, a tree upon the smooth bark of which was carved: "D Boon cilled A BAR on this tree year 1760." He subsequently served in an expedition against the Cherokees, went on a trip into Tennessee, and, in 1765, made a long visit to Florida.

Daniel Boone

1761

According to Mr. Thwaites, Boone heard Finley's story of Kentucky while the two were on Braddock's expedition and never lost the longing thus aroused to visit this region in which game was wonderfully abundant. In the fall of 1767, with one or two companions, he crossed the mountain wall and spent the winter at a salt-lick about ten miles from the present town of Prestonsburg. Convinced that they were not in the promised land, they returned to the Yadkin. In the spring of 1769, Daniel Boone, Finley, John Stuart, and three others, clad in deerskin hunting-shirts and mounted on good horses, set out again. Threading their way through tangled mountain mass and gloomy forest, they passed through Cumberland Gap and, following the Warrior's Path, broke into the beautiful blue-grass region with its running waters, groves, glades, and prairies, and its herds of countless buffalo, deer, and round-horned elk. Making

Boone Invades
Kentucky

1769 their chief camp on what is now Station Camp Creek in
 1770 Estill County, they, for six months, hunted in the heart
 of Kentucky.

In the Blue-
 Grass Country

In December, the party was plundered by a band of Shawnees who warned them to keep off the Indian's land. Four of the party returned home, but Boone and Stuart, with a man named Neely, and Squire Boone, Daniel's brother, who had opportunely arrived with fresh horses and ammunition, determined to remain. About the beginning of February, 1770, Stuart disappeared; what became of him was a mystery until five years later when Daniel Boone found his friend's bones in a hollow sycamore. After this disappearance, Neely went home; in the spring, Squire Boone returned to the Yadkin with horses well laden with furs, skins, and jerked meat. For three months, Daniel Boone stayed alone in Kentucky, "without bread, salt, or sugar, without company of his fellow creatures, or even a horse or dog." In July, Squire Boone returned; the brothers secured more pelts; and again Daniel was left in the wilderness alone. In December, Squire Boone came back and the two settled down for another winter in Kentucky.

The Long
 Hunters

But the Boones and their comrades were not the only white men in Kentucky. In the summer of 1769, a party of twenty or more from the Valley of Virginia entered the country by the way of Cumberland Gap, killed great quantities of game, and were plundered by the Cherokees. In the fall of the following year, a company of about forty of the most famous frontiersmen of the Holston and New River valleys, "Long Hunters" they called themselves, took the same route for a long hunt in the heart of Kentucky. At Knob Licks, they beheld "what they estimated at over a thousand animals, including buffaloe, elk, bear, and deer, with many wild turkies scattered among them—all quite restless, some playing, and others busily employed in licking the earth." The Long Hunters also were despoiled by the Cherokees and, after a succession of disasters in one of which two men were carried off by the Indians, many of them

returned home. The others broke up into small parties and continued to hunt, chiefly upon the Cumberland and Green rivers. One day, one of these parties, led by Casper Mansker, heard a strange noise in the forest and, creeping forward, saw "a man bare-headed, stretched flat upon his back on a deerskin spread on the ground, singing merrily at the top of his voice!" It was Daniel Boone who was thus passing away the time while waiting for the return of his brother.

For some time, Mansker's party and the Boones hunted together, but, in March, 1771, the Boones set out for home. Not far from Cumberland Gap, they were captured by a war-party of northern Indians who handled them roughly and stole their packs, leaving Daniel poorer than when he left home two years before. Early in 1773, Daniel made a short trip as far as what is now Jessamine County and, later in the year, having sold his farm on the Yadkin, gathered a party to attempt an actual settlement. The party consisted of Boone, his wife and children, five families, and forty men besides, with horses and cattle. While they were on the way, the Shawnees killed six of the men, including Boone's sixteen-year old son, James; in spite of Boone's entreaties, the other survivors insisted upon giving up the enterprise; they took up their abode temporarily upon the Clinch River.

In the same year, a party of backwoodsmen and surveyors led by three young men named McAfee descended the Ohio in dugout canoes to hunt and to spy out the land for settlement. At Big Bone Lick, long celebrated for the remains of the extinct mastodon, they "made a tent by stretching their blankets over the huge fossil ribs, and used the disjointed vertebræ as stools on which to sit." They explored the region around what is now Frankfort and, on their homeward way, crossed the Cumberland mountains. In the same year, Simon Kenton and other hunters were wandering through the country, and, at the falls of the Ohio, Captain Thomas Bullitt was laying out a town on the site of Louisville.

The permanent settlement of the country was now

Hard Luck

Hungering
for the
Horizon

1773 still further delayed by the outbreak of a new Indian war, known as "Cresap's War" or the "Dunmore War." The cause of this struggle has been the subject of much controversy. It is certain, however, that the incursions of the whites into Kentucky and Tennessee and

Another
Indian War



Dunmore

play." The controversy between Pennsylvania and Virginia as to the ownership of the upper Ohio region added to the difficulties of the situation.

The Illinois
Company

The royal proclamation of October, 1763, had closed the over-mountain country against white settlers and land speculators, and a bill now pending in parliament, known as the Quebec bill, provided for the addition of that country north of the Ohio to the province of Quebec. The provisions of this bill will be set forth more fully in the next chapter; it will answer the present purpose to point out that such legislative action would curb the territorial

the even greater activity of white men in the region of the upper Ohio, Virginians seeking Indian lands and Pennsylvanians seeking Indian trade, intensified the jealousy of the Indians who could not fail to note, with anxious thoughts for the future, the westward advance of the Caucasian wave. Although a nominal peace had prevailed since 1764, Indians and border white men had so frequently wronged each other that "whenever a member of one race met a man of the other the rifle was apt to be brought into

pretensions of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and other seaboard colonies. In the summer of 1773, certain adventurers had formed at Kaskaskia the Illinois land company, and with them, Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, and other gentlemen of tide-water Virginia were interested. The Illinois company had bargained with the Indians for a large tract of lands bounded by the Wabash, the Mississippi, and the Illinois, and the deed had been passed. The lands were described as being within the chartered limits of Virginia. The purchase was imperilled by the now-pending Quebec bill. Thus Dunmore added a personal interest to his official loyalty to the historic claims of Virginia under the somewhat vague provisions of the charter of 1609.

At this time, Governor Dunmore and the Penns were in controversy concerning the western boundary of Pennsylvania. Dunmore's agent in the disputed territory was Captain John Conolly, a man not easily to be admired; his violence and outrages had brought even white men to the verge of open war. In spite of Penn's protests, Dunmore had taken possession of Fort Pitt and was determined to hold it as a gate to the over-river country of Virginia. Indian depredations on the border offered him a pretext for a proclamation ordering the militia to be in readiness. By this force he might intimidate Pennsylvania, punish the Indians, and maintain the sovereignty of Virginia beyond the Ohio. About this time, a hunting party from the settlement at the mouth of the Kanawha was attacked by wandering Cherokees. In retaliation, the hunters resolved to attack the Indian towns on the Scioto and found a leader in the famous frontiersman, Michael Cresap. The impromptu army was reinforced by recruits from the settlement that three brothers, Ebenezer, Jonathan, and Silas Zane, had begun

1773

1774

July 5, 1773

Logan and
Cresap

Coat of Arms of Lord Dunmore

April 16,

1774

1774 on the site of Wheeling. A few Shawnees were ambushed and killed, thus making a bad matter worse, but the most fruitful event was the murder of the family of the Mingo chieftain, John Logan. Logan had been bred at Shamokin, near the Moravian settlement, and had long been known as the firm friend of the white men. His camp was at the mouth of Yellow Creek, about fifteen miles above the site of Steubenville. When his family crossed from the north side of the Ohio to get rum, they were set upon and brutally murdered by one Greathouse and his score of carousing white companions. Logan at once sent a declaration of war to Cresap whom he erroneously supposed to have ordered the massacre. To the aid of the Mingoes and the Shawnees came many of the Delawares, Wyandots, and other tribes along the Wabash, Miami, and the lakes, and Dunmore's war was begun. Logan, hitherto a friend, now became the most insatiable enemy of all.

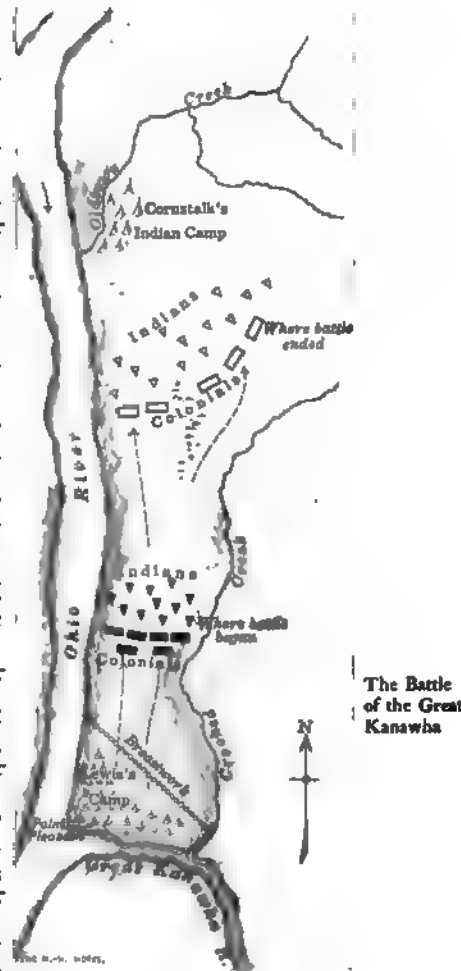
Dunmore
Invades the
Northwest

July 12

The Quebec bill had become a law in June, but, on the tenth of July, before the expected enactment was known in Virginia, Dunmore left Williamsburg to direct offensive operations in person. Two days later, he gave orders for Andrew Lewis to move down the Kanawha with a force and to cross the Ohio into the country of the Shawnees. Major Angus McDonald had meantime led a body of Virginia militia across the mountains. Moving down the Ohio, he built Fort Fincastle at the site of Wheeling. Dunmore's plan of campaign was to gather the Virginia army in two divisions, each fifteen hundred strong. The right wing, commanded by himself, was to move forward by way of Pittsburg to the mouth of the Kanawha, there to be joined by the left wing under Colonel Lewis. Having led his levies to Fort Pitt, the English earl modified his original plan and abandoned the scheme of meeting Lewis at the mouth of the Kanawha. With a flotilla of a hundred canoes besides the keel-boats and pirogues, he descended the Ohio and, by the end of September, was at Fort Fincastle with about thirteen hundred men, including such

experienced scouts as George Rogers Clark, Michael 1774
Cresap, Simon Kenton, and Simon Girty. Thence he
sent forward Major William Crawford with a party to
build, at the mouth of the
Hocking River (then known
as the Hockhocking), a stock-
ade known as Fort Gower.
Dunmore followed, ascended
the Hocking to the falls, and
marched thence toward the
Scioto, and, on the edge of
the Pickaway Plains, fortified
Camp Charlotte about four
miles east of the Indian town
of Old Chillicothe, now West-
fall in Pickaway County.
Thus, a royal governor
ignored the prohibition of the
royal proclamation of 1763,
and gave no heed to the pro-
visions of the Quebec bill
which he knew to be pending
and which had, in fact, become
a law.

About the beginning of
September, Lewis gathered at
Camp Union, at "the levels
of Greenbrier" (the site of
Lewisburg, West Virginia),
his army of stalwart and
experienced Indian fighters
from the back counties of
Virginia and the Watauga
commonwealth, one of the fin-
est armies of frontiersmen ever
assembled. Among them were such men as Evan Shelby
and his son Isaac, John Sevier, and James Robertson.
On the sixth of October, Lewis arrived with most of his
force at Point Pleasant, the high triangular point of land



Map of the Battle of the Great Kanawha

1 7 7 4 jutting out on the north side of the Kanawha where it empties into the Ohio. Three days later, Simon Girty, afterwards generously hated as "the white renegade," brought an order from Dunmore to meet him at Pickaway Plains. On the morning of the tenth, before Lewis could begin the movement, he was suddenly attacked by about a thousand warriors, the pick of the northwestern tribes, under the celebrated Shawnee chieftain, Cornstalk. Greatly outnumbered by the two divisions of the Virginia army, the wary Indian clearly saw that if he could surprise and overwhelm Lewis and his force, the fate of Lord Dunmore and the division on the Scioto would lie easily in his hands. Hence his quick and crafty movement through the forest to the banks of the Ohio. The two forces were about equal in numbers, and the desperate, all-day battle was one of the most stubbornly contested fights ever waged between white men and red men. After one-fifth of the white men had been killed or wounded, the Indians were finally driven off with a loss that was never definitely ascertained. It probably is true, as has been said, that "had the battle of Point Pleasant been fought on New England soil, the pages of history would have been filled with the name of Andrew Lewis."

Dunmore's
Treaty

Lewis then crossed the Ohio and marched his army to the Pickaway Plains, where he was ordered to return to the mouth of the Kanawha, as Dunmore was negotiating a treaty of peace for which Cornstalk had been forced by his disheartened followers to ask. Lewis's backwoodsmen, flushed with victory, angered by their losses, and in fighting blood at fever heat, were restrained with difficulty, but were finally induced by Dunmore in person to march homeward—it would have been difficult to negotiate a peace in the presence of such men in such a mind. By the terms of the treaty that was made, the Indians abandoned all claims to lands south of the Ohio, surrendered their white captives and stolen horses, and gave hostages for future good behavior. Logan refused to enter the council and Dunmore sent John

Gibson to urge the only absentee chief to attend. To the governor's messenger, Logan told the story of his wrongs and then suddenly addressed to him, if Gibson's report is true, that magnificent outburst of native eloquence, the undying "Logan's Speech," the greatest of our Indian prose elegies. 1 7 7 4

Dunmore's personal share in the war had not been dangerous or strenuous but he marched back to Virginia with his hostages "to receive the applause and honor never withheld from a conqueror." On their return, the officers held a meeting at or near Fort Gower, at the mouth of the Hocking. In true American fashion, there were speeches and resolutions. The speakers emphasized the fact that they had been in the woods for three months, that they had no recent information from the continental congress that they knew was in session at Philadelphia, or from Boston where trouble was impending. They knew that their backwoodsmen followers could march and fight as well as any in the world and they were not willing to run the risk that their countrymen should imagine that they were indifferent to the cause that was quickening the pulses of Sam Adams and Patrick Henry. The resolutions tendered thanks to Lord Dunmore for his leadership and avowed their faithful allegiance to George III. "while his majesty delights to reign over a brave and a free people," and proclaimed their resolution to exert all their powers "for the defence of American liberty, and for the support of her just rights and privileges, not in any precipitous, riotous, or tumultuous manner, but when regularly called forth by the unanimous voice of our countrymen." Thus, "at the very beginning of the struggle for independence the men of the frontiers, gathered on the soil of the Northwest, pledged the new lands to freedom. Pioneer Patriotism November 5

The Dunmore war was far more than "a mere episode of the border." It kept the northwestern tribes quiet for the first two years of the Revolutionary war; it conquered the peace that made possible the settlement of Kentucky and therefore the winning of the West. The Results

1 7 7 4 Through the twoscore years that were to elapse before
 1 7 7 5 Great Britain took her hand off the territory between the Ohio and the great lakes, the pledge made on the banks of the Hocking was held good by the pioneers of Kentucky and their descendants. Had it not been for the pluck of Andrew Lewis and his men at Point Pleasant, "it is more than likely that when the colonies achieved their freedom they would have found their boundaries fixed at the Alleghany Mountains." For the freedom from such limitation, thanks to King George's royal governor of Virginia.

The Dark
and Bloody
Ground

March 17,
1775

In North Carolina dwelt one Richard Henderson, a man with a crippled fortune and a turn to speculation. He had planned a proprietary colony in the west and now thought that the time had come to carry out the project. By a treaty made at Sycamore Shoals on the Watauga, he and his associates obtained from the Cherokees the lands between the Kentucky and the Tennessee rivers, the consideration being ten thousand pounds to be paid in merchandise. The Cherokees frankly characterized the deeded territory as a "dark ground," a "bloody ground," and said that "a black cloud" hung over it. One old chief said: "We have given you a fine land, but I believe you will have much trouble in settling it." Henderson named his domain Transylvania.

The
Wilderness
Road

Henderson knew Daniel Boone and saw in him the man he wanted as his lieutenant. A week before the treaty with the Cherokees was ratified, he sent Boone ahead with about thirty men to clear a bridle-path from the Holston to Kentucky and to begin a settlement. This was "Boone's Trace," the now famous Wilderness Road. Blazing tree-trunks in the open timber and cutting through the underbrush, Boone led the way through Cumberland Gap and across the Cumberland, Laurel, and Rockcastle rivers. Near the Kentucky, they were attacked by Indians and two of their number were killed while a third was wounded. On the sixth of April, (according to Thwaites) they reached an open plain, and, near a sulphur spring, began building Boonesboro.

By this time, other pioneers were in the land. Among these were James Harrod, Benjamin Logan, and the McAfees. In the previous June, Harrod and a party of about forty men had laid out in central Kentucky the place first known as Harrodstown and then as Harrodsburg, but they had been warned by Boone of the Indian war and had abandoned it. On the eighteenth of March, Harrod with about thirty men reoccupied the site and established the first permanent settlement in Kentucky. In spite of Dunmore's treaty, occasional Indian ravages were committed, some of the settlers were "killed and scalped;" and many more were panic-stricken. Boone, instead of being frightened, wrote to Henderson to hurry up the colonists, urging that "now is the time to flusterate the intentions of the Indians and keep the country." Henderson and his party were already on the way, and, on the twentieth of April, reached Boonesboro, "a typical fortified village such as the frontiersmen built everywhere in the west and southwest during the years that they were pushing their way across the continent." Other settlers were coming in, and forts were built at Boiling Springs and Logan's Station (Saint Asaphs).

1775
A Permanent
Settlement in
Kentucky

Soon after his arrival, Henderson issued a call for the election of members of the Transylvania legislature, and the four stations sent seventeen or eighteen delegates. They convened on the twenty-third of May under the branches of a mighty elm—"a fit council-house for this pioneer legislature of game hunters and Indian fighters." Religious freedom was guaranteed and several laws were enacted, but this first session lacked but one of being the last. Opposition to the Transylvania proprietors rapidly developed both within and without. In June, 1776, the settlers about Harrodsburg, under the leadership of George Rogers Clark, held a convention and sent Clark and Captain John Gabriel Jones as delegates to the Virginia convention. Virginia claimed the Kentucky country, and North Carolina claimed the region around the Cumberland. The purchase from the Cherokees was pro-

Transylvania

1775 claimed null and void as to the proprietors, though valid against the Indians. A vain appeal was made to the continental congress. Both Virginia and North Carolina reimbursed the proprietors by large grants of land. Transylvania's fitful life flickered out of existence and Henderson nearly drifted out of history.

In the
Enemy's
Country

Thus, at the beginning of the Revolution, Kentucky lay like an island far out in the forest sea, cut off by the mountains from the mother colonies as Plymouth rock was cut off by the Atlantic from the mother country. For the first time, American pioneers had got out of touch with the civilization of the seaboard. For a time, the new settlements were to enjoy comparative peace and quiet. The Wilderness Road, though at all times perilous, was thronged with incoming settlers, and many boatloads came down the Ohio. Game was plentiful, the fruitful soil yielded abundant harvests, and there was marrying and giving in marriage. But the "black cloud" pointed out by the Cherokee chieftain still overcast the beautiful land; in spite of the obliteration of Indian titles by the treaties made at Fort Stanwix, Sycamore Shoals, and Camp Charlotte, Kentucky was and was to be a dark and bloody ground.





C H A P T E R X I

T H E F I V E I N T O L E R A B L E A C T S

NO fair-minded American will deny or ignore the fact that the colonists had given great provocation to King George and the British ministry. They had repeatedly nullified acts of parliament and had resorted to concerted violence. They had riotously resisted the stamp act and had defeated the purpose of the Townshend revenue act. Boston "patriots" were determined and defiant, the exultant sympathy of New York and Philadelphia fell little short of overt treason, and from Virginia came the voice of Patrick Henry—as ill an omen as that of Samuel Adams. Narragansett Bay had been reddened by the burning of the "Gaspee." Now the waters of Boston Harbor had been given a hyson flavor—this was more than the maddened ministry could bear. All these things tended to strengthen a belief, already common in England, that the Americans were a dangerous and lawless people, bent on resisting all imperial control, and, worst of all, aiming at independence. British pride had been wounded and any suggestion of conciliation fell on deaf ears and hardened hearts.

Provocation

A month after the privy council voted the petition of Massachusetts for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous," the papers relating to the recent proceedings in America, and especially to the destruction of the tea at Boston, were laid before parliament. Accompanying the papers was a

A King's
Anger

1774 royal message regarding "the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston." That King George was really angry may be gathered from a note of

March 7



"The Bostonians paying the Excise Man, or, Tarring and Feathering," a Cartoon published in London in 1774

he thinks, be sufficient to prevent any disturbance. All men now feel that the fatal compliance in 1766 has increased the pretensions of the Americans to thorough independence."

The Boston Port Bill

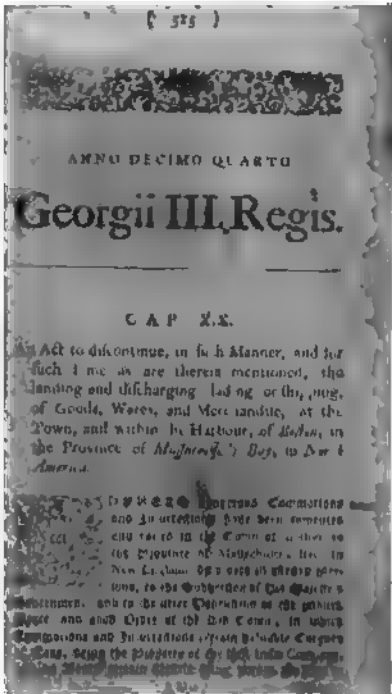
On the fourteenth, in the commons, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection and management of his Majesty's duties and customs from the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America; and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares, and merchandize at the said town of Boston, or within the harbor thereof." In justification of this extraordinary proposition, he declared that the "tea-party" was the third occasion on which the customs officers had been prevented from performing their duty in Boston; that

the fourth of February, to Lord North, in which he said: "General Gage, though just returned from Boston, expresses his willingness to go back at a day's notice if convenient measures are adopted. He says, 'They will be lions while we are lambs; but if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek.'"

Four regiments sent to Boston will,

commerce was no longer safe there; and that although "some few individuals may suffer on this account who ought not," it was neither novel nor improper to punish a whole town whose authority "had been, as it were, asleep and inactive." As Boston had been the ringleader, it "ought to be the principal object of our attention for punishment. . . . We should let it go forth to the world that the parliament of Great Britain will protect their subjects and their property."

In the debate that followed, Barré sarcastically declared that he liked the bill "for its moderation," and added: "Keep your hands out of the pockets of the Americans, and they will be obedient subjects." Burke denied that Boston was alone in resistance: "show me one port in all America where the goods have been landed and vended. . . . There are but two ways to govern America: either to make it subservient to all your laws, or to let it govern itself by its own internal policy." But the opponents of the bill were in a hopeless minority. The petition of Bollan, the Massachusetts agent, and another from Americans resident in London, including Henry Laurens, were laid on the table. The bill passed the lower house without a division on the twenty-fifth; it passed the upper house without a division on the thirtieth; it received the royal assent on the thirty-first.



The Bill
Becomes a
Law

First Page of the Boston Port Bill, in the
Volume of Acts relating to the
American Colonies

14 George III.
cap. 19

1 7 7 4
The Blockade
of Boston

The act closed the port of Boston from and after the first of June, 1774, to all commerce save in food, fuel, and military supplies, until such time as full satisfaction should be made to the East India company for the damage sustained by the loss of the tea, and to the revenue officers for injuries received; and further until such time as the king in council should decide that commerce might be safely resumed. A blockade of the harbor was to be maintained by British war-ships, and even coasting vessels carrying food and fuel "for the necessary use and sustenance of the inhabitants of the said town of Boston" had to submit to search "at Marblehead in the port of Salem." The penalty for violation of the act was forfeiture of vessel and cargo. Vessels found hovering about the harbor or bay might be compelled to depart under like penalty of seizure and forfeiture. The act remained in force until December, 1775, when it was repealed.

The
Massachusetts
Government
Bill

The second part of the scheme of coercion was disclosed on the twenty-eighth of March, when North moved for leave to bring in a bill "for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay." He proposed, he said, "to take the executive power from the hands of the democratic part of government;" to enlarge the appointing power of the governor; to make the holding of town-meetings, save for the annual elections, subject to the consent of the governor; and to regulate the choice of jurors. Lord George Germain supported the motion in a speech that North rapturously declared to be "worthy of a great mind," and the desired leave was given.

In the House
of Commons

The bill was brought in on the fifteenth of April and immediately called out vigorous opposition. Dowdeswell urged moderation and forbearance and former Governor Pownall explained the injustice of interfering with the jury system and the serious inconveniences that would attend the suspension of town-meetings. The bill, however, was given its first reading. When the debate was resumed on the twenty-second, Sir George Saville

attacked the bill as "a very doubtful and dangerous one,"¹ 7 7 4 unwarranted by any facts before the house. Are the Americans, asked Conway, to be condemned and punished without being heard? "The Americans," replied North, "have tarred and feathered your subjects, plundered your merchants, burnt your ships, denied all obedience to your laws and authority;" yet further clemency is demanded. Charles Fox declared that the bill "is not what you want; it irritates the minds of the people, but does not correct the deficiencies" of the Massachusetts government. Burke protested against the bill and predicted that it would not be submitted to without force. In vain, Bolland asked for delay until he could communicate with Massachusetts, and another petition from Americans in London was laid on the table. North again carried the day, and, on the second of May, the bill, by a vote of two hundred and thirty-nine to sixty-four, was ordered read a third time and passed.

The bill went promptly through the house of lords,^{In the House of Lords} having its second reading in that body on the sixth of May. On the eleventh, by a vote of ninety-two to twenty, it was read a third time and passed, eleven members entering their protest against it. In the view of the eleven, the passage of the bill without giving Massachusetts an opportunity to be heard violated "not technical formality, but substantial justice." If the military and naval forces already ordered to assemble at Boston were not sufficient to keep the colony in order, no mere act of parliament could accomplish that result. Further, the provision for the appointment of judges by the governor instead of by the crown was opposed to English practice. Like the port act, this bill embodied "the same scheme of strengthening the authority of the Officers and Ministers of State at the expense of the rights and liberties of the subject," and was intended to support the ill-advised scheme for taxing the colonies^{14 George III. cap. 45} which ought to be regarded as ended with the repeal of the stamp act. This protest of the peers, like others of this stormy time, was probably written by Burke; it was

1 7 7 4 a trenchant arraignment of the policy of the king and his ministers. The bill received the royal assent on the twentieth of May.

Its Provisions

The act set aside so much of the Massachusetts charter as related to the election of councilors and vested their appointment in the king; the persons so appointed were to hold office during the royal pleasure. Judges, marshals, and other officials of the courts were to be subject to appointment and removal by the governor without the consent of the council; sheriffs were to be appointed by the same authority, but the consent of the council was necessary for their removal. Still more grievous, no town-meeting, save the annual meeting for the election of town officers and representatives, might be called without leave of the governor. To complete the policy of repression, grand and petit jurors were to be chosen by the sheriffs. Never before had parliament interfered with a colonial charter. The theory that the charter emanated from the crown and could be altered only by judicial process was here for the first time set aside. From a constitutional point of view, this act was the most revolutionary of all the acts of parliament relating to America.

**The
Administration
of Justice Bill**

On the fifteenth of April, the day on which the Massachusetts government bill made its appearance in the house of commons, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a third bill "for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of the riots and tumults" in Massachusetts. Blind to the lesson of Preston's acquittal, he declared that the juries in the colonies could not be relied upon to give to offenders a fair trial and that it was necessary to empower the governor to send the accused to another colony, or if need be to England, for trial. The measure was to be temporary, for three or four years at the most. With such a law, all that would be necessary would be for the crown officers to be "vigilant in the execution of their duty, and keep a watchful eye over every encroach-

ment against the power we shall now pass." With the aid of able and resolute lawyers, he was confident that reasonableness and peace would shortly return to a misguided and turbulent dependency. 1 7 7 4

Englishmen had long been jealous of the ancient privilege of trial by "a jury of the vicinage." This measure, with its open denial of that privilege in an English colony, was bitterly attacked. Barré denounced it as "glaring," "unprecedented," "unwarranted," "big with misery and oppression." "Instead of sending them the olive branch," he declared, "you have sent the naked sword." To this, Wedderburn retorted that the olive branch ought to go in one hand, but the sword in the other. Leave was given, of course, and, on the twenty-first of April, the bill was brought in. On the twenty-eighth, Dowdeswell asked leave to submit a petition from Bollan, praying for delay until he should hear from Massachusetts; by a vote of thirty-two to ninety-five the request was denied. On the sixth of May, the bill passed the commons by a vote of one hundred and twenty-seven to twenty-four. In the House of Commons

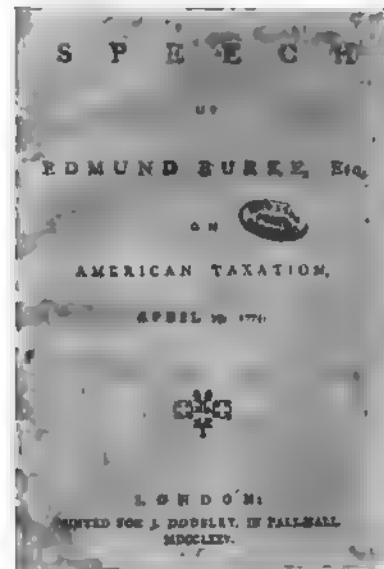
In the house of lords, the marquis of Rockingham reviewed the course of the ministry, declaring that the tea duty "was left as a pepper-corn, merely for the sake of contest with America" and that "the condition of men of honor and sensibility" would be far worse under the pending bill than before. A protest signed by eight lords denounced the bill as "an humiliating confession of the weakness and inefficacy of all the proceedings of Parliament," and the provision for trials of colonists in England as "extravagant in its principles" and "impracticable in its execution." On the eighteenth of May, the bill passed the lords by a vote of forty-three to twelve, and, two days later, became law by royal assent. In the House of Lords
14 George III.
cap. 39

The act provided that any person indicted in Massachusetts for murder or other capital crime because of anything done by him in executing the revenue laws, suppressing riots, or performing his duties as a magistrate, might, in case a fair trial could not be secured in Massa- Its Provisions

1774 Massachusetts, be tried in another colony or in Great Britain; such transfer of the cause to be made under the direction of the governor and council. The act was to take effect on the first of June and to continue in force three years. On its face, the statute did not differ much from the present law of England and America where a person accused may be tried in some county or district other than that in which the alleged offense was committed; but, under circumstances then existing, such a trial would be equivalent to a conviction in advance.

Burke's Great
Speech on
Taxation

On the nineteenth of April, while the last two acts were under discussion in the commons, Mr. Rose Fuller



Title-page of the printed Edition of
Burke's Speech

moved the repeal of the tax of threepence a pound on tea. The feature of the debate that followed was the speech of Edmund Burke. Although the members rarely stayed to listen to Burke's speeches, everybody read them afterwards. This speech was an elaborate review of the parliamentary policy relative to the taxation of America—a masterly exposure of the false principles on which that policy was based and of the inconsistency that had attended its application.

The acts of trade were a sufficient regulation: do not burden the colonists with taxes. "Your scheme yields no revenue; it yields nothing but discontent, disorder, disobedience; and such is the state of America, that after wading up to your eyes in blood, you could only end just where you begun." Burke spoke as a statesman, but the house was unsympathetic. Burgoyne, better known in America now than

he was then, spoke the prevailing sentiment of the house when he declared: "Sir, I look upon America to be our child, which I think we have already spoiled by too much indulgence." By a vote of forty-nine to one hundred and eighty-two, Fuller's motion was defeated. I 7 7 4

Lord North's plan was not yet complete. On the twenty-ninth of April, a bill "for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his Majesty's service in North America" was introduced in the commons; ten days later, it passed that body without a division. Chatham attacked the bill in the house of lords as a measure the only necessity for which arose from the irritating policy that the ministry persisted in following. With prophetic insight, the great parliamentary leader exclaimed: "My lords, I am an old man, and would advise the noble lords in office to adopt a more gentle mode of governing America: for the day is not far distant when America may vie with these kingdoms, not only in arms, but in arts also." The lords approved the bill, however, by a vote of fifty-seven to sixteen, and it became a law on the second of June. This act provided that whenever, in any colony, the quarters already required by law were not furnished within twenty-four hours of the arrival of troops, the governor might use "uninhabited houses, out-houses, barns, or other buildings," payment being made for the same at reasonable rates; it did not, as has sometimes been said, authorize the billeting of soldiers on the inhabitants of the colonies. The act was to continue in force until the twenty-fourth of March, 1776. The Quarters Act May 26 14 George III. cap. 54

Near the end of the session, a bill "for making more effectual provision for the government of the Province of Quebec" was introduced in the house of lords and there passed with little discussion. By the royal proclamation of October, 1763, Quebec had been promised a general assembly as soon as the circumstances of the colony should admit. The bill now submitted enlarged the boundaries of the province so as to include what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wis- The Quebec Bill

1774 consin; created a legislative council appointed by the crown and with complete authority except in matters of taxation; established the existing French law without jury trial for civil cases, and the English law with jury trial for criminal cases; admitted Roman Catholics to membership in the council; and confirmed the Roman Catholic clergy in the right of collecting tithes from persons of their own religion.

In the House
of Commons

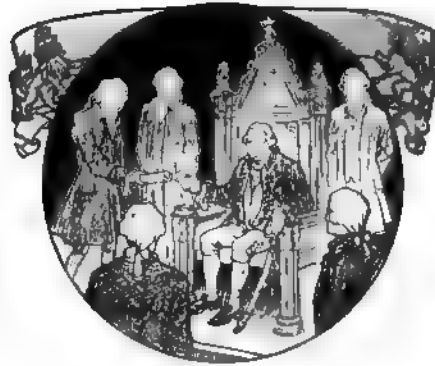
In the commons, however, the Quebec bill encountered vigorous opposition. It was pointed out that it was unnecessary, dangerous, and unprecedented for parliament to establish an arbitrary government in any part of the British dominions. The religious provisions were particularly attacked. The bill, it was said, did not tolerate Roman Catholicism, but established it. "The popish clergy have a legal parliamentary right to a maintenance; the protestant clergy are left at the king's discretion." At this time, in England, Roman Catholics were excluded from office and prohibited from buying land; priests who said mass were liable to perpetual imprisonment; and the estates of Roman Catholic heirs educated abroad were forfeitable to the next Protestant heir. The opposition led to several minor amendments, but the bill became a law without any important change. Whether it was "a sop to the Canadian people, intended to detach them from the common American cause," and "an object-lesson in despotic government"—"at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies," or an expression of "the honest efforts of British statesmen to solve the difficult problem of governing the dominion taken from France in 1763," the Quebec act was ill-timed and disastrous. Among the English colonists it was counted one of their serious grievances and was bitterly denounced; among the French Canadians it wrought additional discontent.

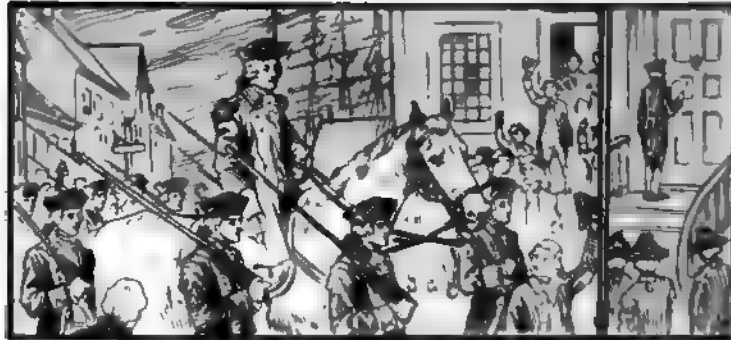
14 George III.
cap. 83

Parliament
Prorogued

The king's speech closing the session spoke of the Quebec act as "founded on the clearest principles of justice and humanity." The "temper and firmness" with

which the situation in America had been met "cannot 1 7 7 4 fail of giving the greatest weight to the measures which have been the result of your deliberations. Nothing that depends on me," the king continued, "shall be wanting to render them effectual. It is my most anxious desire to see my deluded subjects in that part of the world returning to a sense of their duty; acquiescing in that just subordination to the authority, and maintaining that due regard to the commercial interests of this country, which must ever be inseparably connected with their own real prosperity and advantage." On the same day, parliament was prorogued to the fourth of August. June 22





C H A P T E R X I I

M O V I N G T O W A R D U N I O N

Hutchinson's
Address to the
General Court

THE Massachusetts general court had been prorogued until the twelfth of January, 1774. Hutchinson would apparently have been glad to wait until he knew the plans of the ministry, but he did not dare postpone a meeting so long and ventured to defer it only till the twenty-sixth. When the court met, the governor made no reference to the tea, but mentioned such things only as, in his opinion, "were least likely to give room for any harsh or unkind return." He did, however, inform the court that the king disapproved of "the appointment of committees of correspondence, in various instances, which sit and act during the recess of the general court."

The Reply of
the House

The reply of the house was a vigorous defense of its course. "While the common rights of the American subjects continue to be attacked in various instances, and at times when the several assemblies are not sitting, it is highly necessary that they should correspond with each other, in order to unite in the most effectual means for the obtaining a redress of their grievances." Since the governor and other crown officers had seen fit to correspond with ministers and others in England, to the manifest injury of the province, it could not be thought unreasonable for the colonists to correspond with their agents and others with a view to correcting the misinformation with which the king had been misled, and of obtaining, if possible, redress of grievances.

More important was the determination of the house that the salaries of four hundred pounds each, fixed by the crown, should not be accepted by the judges who should receive compensation from the colonial treasury as formerly. One of the members of the superior court, Trowbridge, characterized by Hutchinson as "of weak nerves and a timid spirit," made his peace with the assembly, whereupon the house gave the other members eight days in which to say whether or not they had received the full grant made by the general court the previous year and to declare that in future, "according to invariable usage," they would continue to accept such grants and no others. Three of the judges yielded, but the chief-justice, Peter Oliver, brother of the lieutenant-governor and brother-in-law of the governor, refused.

1 7 7 4
Salaries of
the Judges

Then the house asked for Oliver's removal on the grounds that he "had perversely and corruptly done that which hath an obvious and direct tendency to the perversion of law and justice; that he had thereby proved himself an enemy to the constitution of the province, and placed himself under an undue bias, detached himself totally from his connections with the people, and lost their confidence; and rendered himself altogether disqualified any longer to hold and act in the office of a justice of the superior court." The governor replied that the removal of Oliver for taking a salary from the crown would be a breach of trust. The house responded by impeaching Oliver of high crimes and misdemeanors. Hutchinson declined to attend the council meeting at which the charges were presented; but the committee, headed by Adams, declared that the governor was "presumed" to be present, and went on. The council was in sympathy with the house and it seemed likely that the council would proceed to the trial whether the governor was present or not.

The
Chief-justice
Impeached

Hutchinson had already informed the house that he intended to avail himself of the king's leave to go to England. When he sought to terminate the session of the general court, the house closed its doors and refused

Hutchinson
Dissolves the
General Court

1774 admission to the governor's secretary until they had voted instructions to the committee of correspondence to lay the matter of the judges' salaries and other grievances before the other colonies, and to transmit an account of the affair to Franklin in England. The general court was first prorogued and then dissolved. Hutchinson's departure was delayed by the death of the lieutenant-governor. So inflamed was party feeling that "a large mob attended upon his interment and hurraed at the intombing of his body, and that night there was an exhibition at a public window of a coffin and insignia of infamy." At Hutchinson's suggestion, Thomas Oliver was appointed lieutenant-governor.

Gage
Succeeds
Hutchinson



Coat of Arms of Thomas Gage

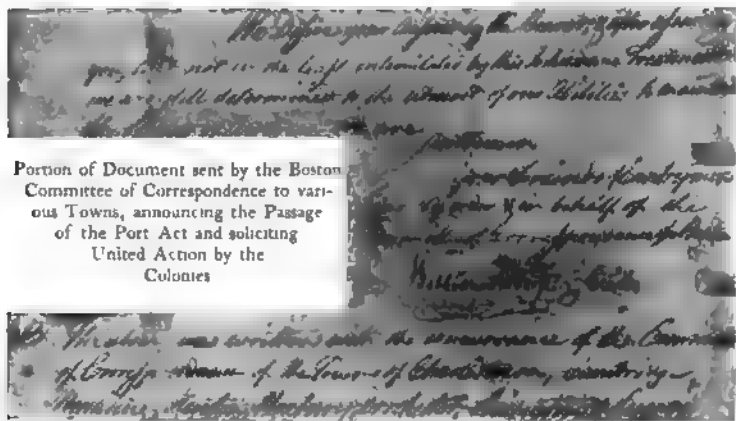
Stoutly as Hutchinson had contended for the royal prerogative, the ministerial policy of coercion required a different man, and, early in April, General Gage was appointed to succeed him. On the thirteenth of May, Gage arrived at Boston. On the first of June, Hutchinson sailed for England, never to return. He carried with him many complimentary addresses and the execrations of the populace. His property was later confiscated; a town that had borne his name gave it up and took that of Barré instead. He died near London on the third of June, 1780. "No public man

in America," says John Fiske, "has ever been the object of more virulent hatred. None has been more grossly misrepresented by historians."

The Appeal
of Boston

A copy of the port act reached Boston on the tenth of May. Under the lead of Joseph Warren, the committee of correspondence called a conference of the neighboring towns, and, on the twelfth, the committees for Boston, Charlestown, Cambridge, Brookline, Newton, Roxbury, Dorchester, Lexington, and Lynn met in Faneuil Hall. Commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain was proposed and united action by the colonies urged. "Now is the time when all should be united in opposition to

this violation of the liberties of all. . . . The single Question then is, weather you consider Boston as now

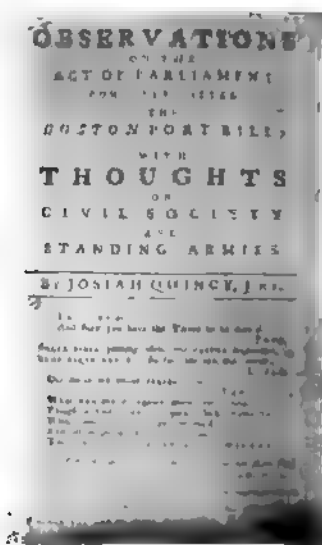


suffering in the common cause & sensibly feel & resent the Injury & Affront offered to her. We cannot believe otherwise; . . . not in the least intimidated by this Inhumane Treatment, we are still determined to the utmost of our Abilities to maintain the Rights of America." The next day, the Boston town-meeting, of which Samuel Adams was moderator, appealed "to all the sister colonies, promising to suffer for America with a becoming fortitude, confessing that singly they might find their trial too severe, and entreating not to be left to struggle alone, when the very being of every colony, considered as a free people, depended upon the event."

General Gage arrived in the harbor on the day of the town-meeting and spent several days with Hutchinson at Castle William. On the seventeenth, he landed at the long wharf. There were salutes of artillery, lines of soldiers, and a state dinner in Faneuil Hall. The general court convened on the twenty-sixth. Twelve of the newly chosen councilors were objected to and announcement was made of the king's command to hold the sessions of the court, after the first of June, at Salem. At noon on the first of June, to the accompaniment of tolling church-bells, a display of mourning emblems, and

The Arrival
of Governor
Gage

1774 fasting and prayer, the Boston port act went into effect. "The law was executed," says Bancroft, "with a rigor



Title-page of Josiah Quincy's Pamphlet on the Boston Port Bill

that went beyond the intentions of its authors. Not a scow could be manned by oars to bring an ox, or a sheep, or a bundle of hay from the islands. All water carriage from wharf to wharf, though but of lumber, or bricks, or lime, was strictly forbidden. The boats between Boston and Charlestown could not ferry a parcel of goods across Charles River; the fishermen of Marblehead, when from their hard pursuit they bestowed quintals of dried fish on the poor of Boston, were obliged to transport their offering in wagons by a circuit of thirty miles."

Salem
Becomes the
Capital

June 9

When the general court met at Salem, the house, before proceeding to other business, entered its protest against the removal of the court from Boston. In reply to the governor's speech, the council expressed the hope "that your administration in the principles and general conduct of it, may be a happy contrast to that of your two immediate predecessors." At this point, Gage interrupted the chairman of the committee that presented the address, declaring that he could not receive an address "which reflected so highly on his predecessors;" he later informed the council in writing that he considered the address "as an insult upon his Majesty and the Lords of his Privy Council, and an affront" to himself. Meantime, the Boston town-meeting had adopted a "solemn league and covenant" pledging commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain after the thirty-first of August, and had sent copies of the agreement throughout the colony.

On the seventeenth of June, Adams being assured of the support of a majority of the house, the doors were locked and the following resolution was adopted: "That a meeting of Committees from the several Colonies on this Continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the Colonies, and the miseries to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of certain Acts of Parliament respecting America, and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the Colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the Colonies, most ardently desired by all good men: Therefore, resolved, that the Honourable James Bowdoin, Esq., the Honourable Thomas Cushing, Esq., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, be, and they are hereby appointed a committee on the part of this Province, for the purposes aforesaid, any three of whom to be a quorum, to meet such Committees or Delegates from the other Colonies as have been or may be appointed, either by their respective Houses of Burgesses or Representatives, or by Convention, or by the Committees of Correspondence appointed by the respective Houses of Assembly, in the City of Philadelphia, or any other place that shall be judged most suitable by the Committee, on the first day of September next; and that the Speaker of the House be directed, in a letter to the Speakers of the Houses of Burgesses or Representatives in the several Colonies, to inform them of the substance of these resolves." Of the one hundred and twenty-nine members present, only twelve dissented.

I 7 7 4
Massachusetts
Calls a
Continental
Congress

As soon as Gage learned what was going on, he sent his secretary to dissolve the assembly. Finding the door locked, the secretary sent in word by the messenger that he desired admission in order that he might present a message from his excellency the governor. The reply was that the house was "upon very important business,

Gage
Dissolves the
General Court

1 7 7 4 which when they had finished they would let him in." Upon the stairs, in the presence of a number of the members of the house and other persons, and immediately after in the council chamber, the secretary read a proclamation dissolving the general court. "I could not get a worse council or a worse assembly," reported Gage.

The Port-act
Meeting at
Boston

On the seventeenth of June, the freeholders and other inhabitants of Boston met to consider measures "relative to the late edict of a British parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boston and annihilating the trade of this town." Drawn at last from his law practice and his private studies, John Adams was chosen moderator, Sam Adams being in attendance at the general court at Salem, where, that day, both were chosen delegates to the coming continental congress. The inhabitants directed that the other colonies be notified that they were entering into a non-consumption agreement "with an unexampled spirit and unanimity," returned thanks to "our brethren on the continent" for their "humanity, sympathy, and affection," and provided for the distribution of all "grants and donations to this town and the poor thereof at this distressing season."

Gage's Army
of Coercion

The first of the troops sent to assist Gage in maintaining the royal authority and enforcing the recent acts of parliament had arrived at Boston on the fourteenth of June. The two regiments encamped on the common. Two additional regiments arrived early in July, a fifth was stationed at Salem, and others were reported on the way.

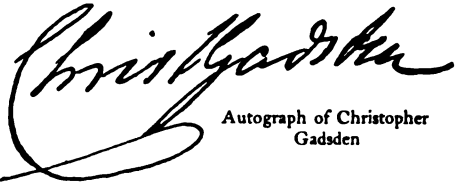
Connecticut
Sends Relief

Boston's port was closed but her people were not left to starve. Contributions poured in from every quarter. Two letter books now in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society contain the record of material relief and political encouragement. From Maine to Georgia came donations of money, clothing, and provisions. The general feeling may be read in messages from some of the Connecticut towns. The Lebanon committee wrote that "the Province of Massachusetts Bay and the Town of Boston are entitled to the most grate-

ful thanks of all English America," and accompanied the sentiment with "376 fat sheep with beef to the value of thirty pounds yet to go." From Norwich came word that "291 sheep will go." Windham (now Willimantic) sent "a small flock of sheep," numbering two hundred and fifty-eight. Coventry sent two hundred and twenty sheep, while the Reverend Aaron Cleaveland of Canterbury contributed "a beef cow" as his "little mite." Groton sent one hundred and twenty sheep and six fat cattle. The "small donation" of Woodstock was accompanied by a message that "we are willing to sacrifice all that is dear and valuable to us rather than suffer the patriotic inhabitants of the Town of Boston to be overwhelmed by their adversaries." Preston, Killingly, East Haddam, and other towns joined; and Israel Putnam wrote: "We cannot but rejoice with you on account of the union and firmness of the continent."

Of the other colonies, South Carolina was the first to respond, dispatching two hundred barrels of rice early in June, with Christopher Gadsden's emphatic "Don't pay for an ounce of the damned tea!" Wilmington, North Carolina, raised two hundred pounds in colonial currency and offered

From
Quebec to
Carolina



Autograph of Christopher
Gadsden

supplies and a ship to carry them. Maryland contributed liberally, and from Virginia the frontiersmen of Augusta County sent one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour, while at the head of the Fairfax County list stood the name of George Washington with a subscription of fifty pounds. Even the far-away French inhabitants of Quebec shipped a thousand bushels of wheat. To be sure, there was scarcity in the afflicted town and acute suffering among its poor, but the contributions enabled Boston to hold out and prevented the success of the policy of coercion. At all events, the distress did not force the sufferers into giving what was demanded—an apology for the past, a promise for the future, and payment for the tea.

- 1 7 7 4 As copies of the Boston port act were received in the different colonies, they were printed and scattered broadcast. "In some places," says Gordon, "they were printed upon mourning paper with a black border, and cried about the streets under the title of *a barbarous, cruel, bloody and inhuman murder*; in others, great bodies of the people were called together by advertisement, and the obnoxious law burned with great solemnity, similar to what was done in the time of the Stamp Act." The Virginia house of burgesses adopted resolutions recommending that the first of June be observed as a day of fasting and prayer. Among those who prayed and fasted was George Washington, while George Mason "charged his little household of sons and daughters to keep the day strictly, and attend church clad in mourning." At Philadelphia, church bells were tolled, flags were hung at half-mast on the vessels in the river, and most of the houses were closed. About this time, the patriot party took the name of Whigs; the loyalists, those who were unwilling openly to resist the mother country, became known as Tories. The word "Continental" had come into use with much the same meaning that "American" has now.
- May 24 In Massachusetts, meantime, the military spirit rose, military drill was organized, ammunition was collected, and arms were put in readiness. The British soldiers in Boston were subjected to many annoyances and some of them deserted. In spite of Gage's efforts, town after town adopted the "solemn league and covenant," and prepared for the self-denial of non-importation and non-consumption. The publication of the Massachusetts government act and the administration of justice act and the distribution of copies broadcast, deepened the resentment against the ministry and brought converts to the colonial cause. The loyalists were also active, but the only result of their efforts was to confirm the governor's erroneous impressions of public opinion in the province.
- Massachusetts Opinion June 3 Official copies of the recent acts relating to Massachusetts were received on the sixth of August, with instructions to put the acts in force at whatever cost. With the

acts was sent a list of thirty-six councilors appointed by the crown. Twenty-four of the thirty-six promptly accepted office; among them was the Timothy Ruggles who had presided over the stamp-act congress. A meeting of the council was held on the sixteenth, but the "mandamus councilors," as they were called, were soon made to feel the weight of popular disapproval. The business of the courts was suspended, the grand jurors refusing to take the oath or to act under new judges and laws, and the petit jurors refusing to recognize a chief-justice who was under impeachment. Even the clerks of court were compelled to apologize for having issued warrants summoning the jurors and to promise not to offend in like manner again.

1 7 7 4
The New
Council

To provide against the anarchy that must follow a general disregard of existing government, the Worcester committee of correspondence proposed a conference of the various committees of the province. A meeting was accordingly held in Faneuil Hall at which it was resolved to form a provincial congress. In the interval, the convention declared, the courts ought to continue to be opposed and "the military art, according to the Norfolk plan, ought to be attentively practised." Three days later, a convention of one hundred and fifty delegates, representing every town in Middlesex County, met at Concord and endorsed the sentiments of the Boston meeting.

A Provincial
Congress
Proposed

August 26
and 27

Gage was thoroughly alarmed by the spirit of opposition that showed itself on every hand and by the military preparation. He had already ordered out troops to break up a meeting at Salem that was held in defiance of his proclamation forbidding it; but the people had transacted their business and dispersed before the troops arrived. He now proceeded to erect fortifications across Boston Neck, the only avenue of approach by land to the town. On the first of September, he seized two hundred and fifty barrels of powder at Charlestown and two cannons at Cambridge. On the following day, a crowd assembled and compelled Lieutenant-governor Oliver and several of the "mandamus councilors" to resign. A false report that the ships of war were bom-

Gage takes
off the Glove

August 24

1774 barding the town brought armed men from the surrounding country, and even from Connecticut. Notwithstanding the protests of the selectmen, Gage continued his fortifications and soon mounted two 24-pounders and eight 9-pounders. "It was necessary," he said, "to provide for the safety of the troops;" if the people would conduct themselves peaceably, so would he.

John Adams On the thirty-first of May, John Adams wrote in his diary: "Have I patience and industry enough to write a history of the contest between Great Britain and America?" He had held sedulously aloof from politics, refusing even to attend town-meetings. The seventeenth of June found him a delegate from Massachusetts to the colonial congress soon to be held. On the twentieth, he wrote in his diary: "I feel myself unequal to this business. . . . What can be done? Will it be expedient to propose an annual congress of committees? to petition? Will it do to petition at all?—to the King? to the Lords? to the Commons? What will such consultations avail? Deliberations alone will not do." And again, five days later: "I feel unutterable anxiety. God grant us wisdom and fortitude! Should the opposition be suppressed, should this country submit, what infamy and ruin! God forbid. Death in any form is less terrible!" Thus anxiously, thus grimly, did this great patriot move forward into the inevitable conflict. Others were more confident, others had formed more definite plans; but he, drawn suddenly and unwillingly into the center of the storm, realized its seriousness and counted the cost.





C H A P T E R X I I I

THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

THE call for a congress of the colonies, issued by the general court of Massachusetts in June, 1774, was mentioned in the preceding chapter.

The Growth
of Union
Sentiment

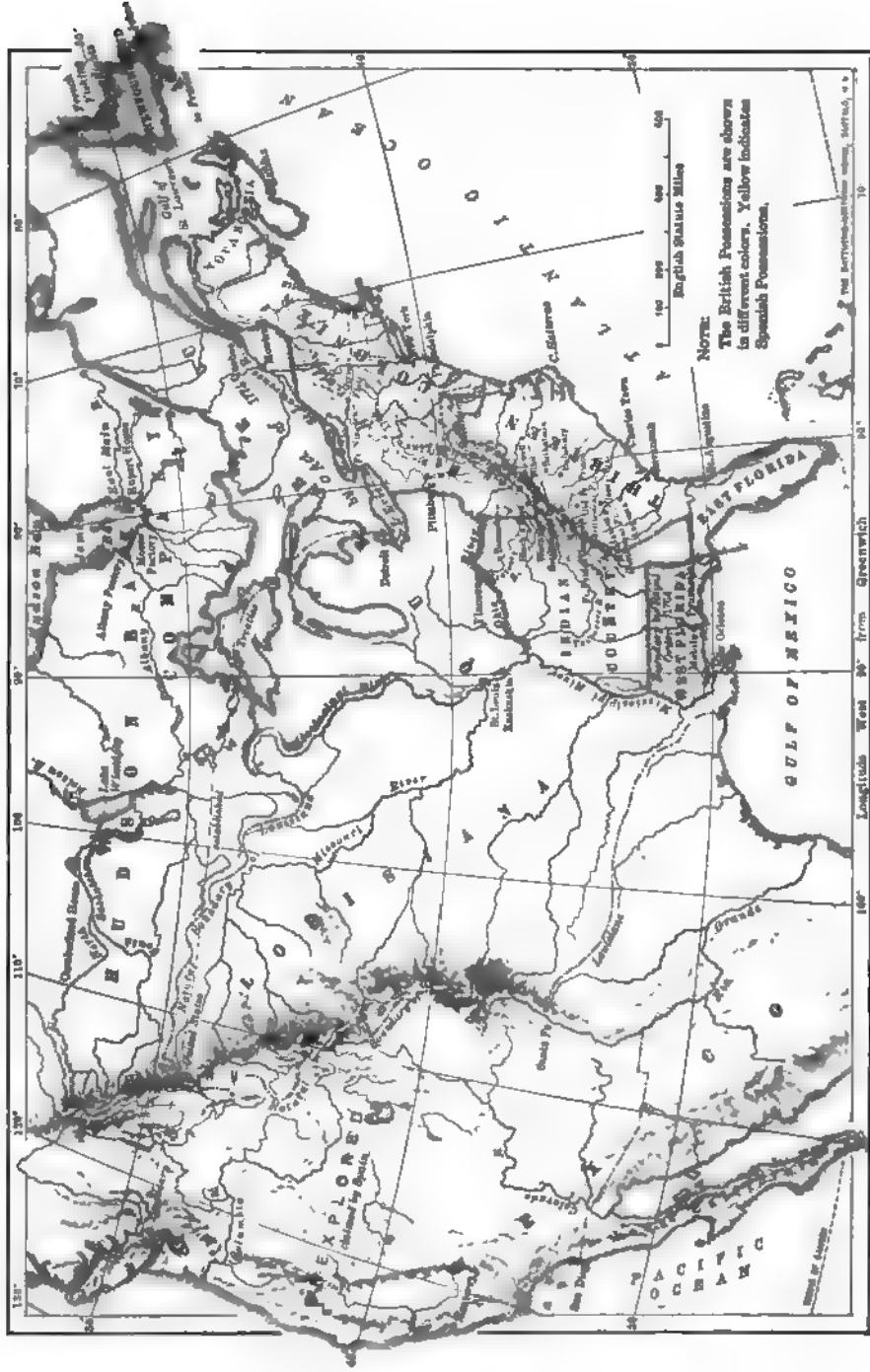
Massachusetts was not the first, however, to suggest such a conference. The idea was in the air and proposals to the same effect came almost simultaneously from various parts of the country. In May, the New York committee of correspondence proposed "a general congress," the freemen of Providence voted in favor of such an assembly, and Philadelphia, Connecticut, and New Jersey followed. After expressing its sympathy for Boston, the Virginia house of burgesses was dissolved by Governor Dunmore on the twenty-sixth, but its members met the next day at the Raleigh Tavern and proposed an annual continental congress. Similar action promptly taken elsewhere testified to the growth of the sentiment of union and of the feeling that the cause of one was the cause of all.

May 17

The Rhode Island assembly had already chosen delegates to the congress, two days before the adoption of the Massachusetts resolution. In Connecticut, the committee of correspondence, acting under the authority of a vote passed by the assembly made its appointments on the thirteenth of July. In New Hampshire, the choice was made by a convention at Exeter, on the twenty-first of July, the assembly having been dissolved by Governor Wentworth and a proposed convention at Ports-

Choosing the
Delegates

June 3



BRITISH AND OTHER POSSESSIONS IN NORTH AMERICA, 1775
Compiled by David Maydele Mattoon, A. M., Cambridge, Mass.

mouth broken up. In similar manner, Maryland chose its representatives on the twenty-fifth of June, and New Jersey on the twenty-third of July. In New York, where a factional struggle was going on between the friends of Alexander MacDougall, formerly prominent in the "Sons of Liberty," and the moderate party headed by John Jay, the committee of correspondence declined to act and the delegates were finally selected by a city committee. Three counties chose separate delegations but the province as a whole was not represented. At the call of a Philadelphia committee, Pennsylvania held a meeting of delegates from the several counties, Governor Penn having refused to convoke the assembly for the purpose. The Virginia convention chose representatives and declared in favor of non-importation. Of the southern colonies, Georgia alone failed to choose delegates.

1774

August 1

At ten o'clock on Monday, the fifth of September, the delegates met at the City Tavern in Philadelphia and walked to Carpenters' Hall, where rooms had been provided for the congress. The fifty-five delegates who eventually attended the meetings formed the ablest body of men that had ever met in America. From Massachusetts came Cushing, the Adamses, and Robert Treat Paine; from Rhode Island, Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward; from Connecticut, Roger Sherman and Silas Deane; from New York, John Jay and Philip Livingston; from Pennsylvania, Thomas Mifflin and Joseph Galloway; from Maryland, Samuel Chase; from Virginia, Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Benjamin Harrison; from South Carolina, Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, and Christopher Gadsden. The congress chose the aged Randolph as its president, and Charles Thomson of Philadelphia, who was not a delegate, as its secretary. The delegates from North Carolina did not appear until the fourteenth of September, and Georgia was not represented, although she gave a promise to concur with her sister colonies. "One third whigs, another tories, the rest mongrel," said John Adams.

The
Organization

1774
Diversity
and Unity

There were differences of interest, religious bias, and personal tastes that would obviously prove difficult to harmonize. There were "fine fellows from Virginia," and the accomplished Rutledge from South Carolina. On the other hand, Samuel Adams came weighted with the odious title of "demagogue," because he dressed plainly and had preferred to associate with rough and honest workmen, "with whom, sitting on a spar or loitering in a workshop, he would spend long and instructive hours." In ability, he was the peer of any of his colleagues, but he was poor, and, what was more, he was not ashamed of it! Left to himself, he would have mingled with the delegates at Philadelphia in the some-

what inappropriate garb in which he was wont to thread the streets of Boston. We are told, however, that the tailor, the hatter, the bootmaker, and the haberdasher, sent by unknown friends, appeared at his house and furnished him with a complete outfit, "not, however, of the full sumptuousness of Hancock's." The unifying element in the congress was not equality of social condition, but the fact that all were British subjects, met to obtain redress of grievances and to restore harmony between Great Britain and America.



John Hancock's crimson velvet Coat

Secret
Sessions

At the first session, a motion by Duane of New York for the appointment of a committee on rules plunged the congress at once into a debate that continued until the next day. The chief point at issue was the method of voting, on which Patrick Henry made a fervid speech, preserved for us in the notes of John Adams. "Government," he exclaimed, "is dissolved. . . . We are in a

state of nature. . . . The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." He favored a representation based on the respective numbers of freemen. Lynch of South Carolina would combine freemen and property. Lee thought that the congress had not before it sufficient information to determine the question, while Gadsden was for a vote by colonies, each colony to have one vote. Gadsden's suggestion was adopted, but "as this was objected to as unequal, an entry was made on the journals to prevent its being drawn into a precedent." It was further agreed that the sessions of the congress should be secret; that nothing should be made public without the consent of the majority.

When the congress met on Tuesday, Samuel Adams moved that the Reverend Jacob Duché, an Episcopalian minister of Philadelphia, be requested to open the next day's proceedings with prayers. Adams wrote to Joseph Warren that he thought it prudent to choose an Episcopalian for this service, "as many of our warmest friends are members of the Church of England;" moreover, he asserted, "he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any gentleman of piety and virtue who was at the same time a friend to his country." That day, also, came the alarming rumor that Boston was being bombarded. On Wednesday morning, Mr. Duché presented himself in his robes, read the prayers and the Psalm for the day (the thirty-fifth Psalm, "Plead thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me!"), and then, "unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present." Cushing and Ward were deputed to convey the thanks of the congress to Mr. Duché "for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on the occasion."

An Excellent Prayer

September 7

Two committees were appointed, one to state the rights of the colonies, the instances in which those rights had been violated or infringed, and the best means of obtaining their restoration; the other to examine the

The Suffolk Resolves

1 7 7 4 several English statutes affecting colonial trade and manufactures and to report thereon. For several days, nothing further of importance was done. On the seventeenth, the Massachusetts delegates laid before the congress the resolutions adopted at Concord, on the sixth of September, by representatives from every town and district in Suffolk County, together with a letter of the ninth of September to General Gage. The resolutions, the work of Joseph Warren, denounced the recent acts of parliament affecting Massachusetts as "gross infractions of those rights to which we are justly entitled by the laws of nature, the British Constitution, and the Charter of the Province," and declared that no obedience was due to them; asserted that the courts of the province, not being organized according to the charter and laws, were unconstitutional, and that those who refused to recognize them should be upheld; demanded the resignation of all "mandamus councilors" by the twentieth of September, under pain of being considered "as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to this country;" protested against the fortification of Boston Neck and the seizure of the powder at Charlestown; and recommended commercial non-intercourse with Great Britain and the encouragement of domestic manufactures. To the measures of the congress at Philadelphia, they pledged "all due respect and submission."

Their Effect

The "Suffolk Resolves," the fullest statement of the case for Massachusetts that had yet been made, had been hurried off to Philadelphia by an express rider, Paul Revere. Congress received them with enthusiasm, approved the conduct of Massachusetts, and "earnestly recommended" a "perseverence in the same firm and temperate conduct." It was also resolved that contributions for the relief of Boston ought to continue as long as necessary. There had been many difficulties to overcome, personal antagonisms to remove, sectional differences to adjust and arrange. Now the congress began to see its way to act. The "Suffolk Resolves" helped greatly in uniting the delegates at Philadelphia in a com-

mon purpose for a common cause. Five days after the receipt of the resolves, a resolution was passed requesting

merchants not to order goods from England and to suspend orders already given until the conclusions of the congress "on the means to be taken for the preservation of the liberties of America" were made known. On the twenty-seventh, non-importation and non-consumption of British goods after the first day of December were unanimously voted.

From the beginning, there were two parties in the congress, sharply opposed on the question of how far resistance to parliament and ministry should go. One party inclined to a somewhat heroic policy that strongly savored of independence; the other party was for resistance to any length that did not involve the use of force. Joseph Galloway had drawn his own instructions and signed them as speaker of the Pennsylvania assembly. They contained an injunction "to avoid everything indecent and disrespectful to the mother state." On the twenty-eighth of September, he submitted a plan for a union between Great Britain



View of North Square, Boston

(The house with overhanging second story was the homestead of Paul Revere; it was erected soon after the fire of 1676)

Galloway's
Plan

1774 and the colonies, together with a preliminary resolve which declared "that the colonies hold in abhorrence the idea of being considered independent communities of the British Government." The resolution was seconded by Duane. The plan proposed a legislature for administering the general affairs of the colonies. The government was to be vested in a president-general appointed by the king, and a grand council chosen by the colonial assemblies. The president-general was to hold his office at the king's pleasure and to exercise, in conjunction with the council, all legislative power necessary for dealing with intercolonial affairs and matters in which Great Britain was concerned. The plan seems to have been regarded as an insidious scheme for perpetuating colonial dependence. Eventually, it was condemned and all references to it were ordered expunged from the journal.

Congress Finds
Its Voice

On the sixth of October, Paul Revere again appeared at Philadelphia with a letter from the Boston committee



Paul Revere's Pistol

of correspondence telling of the progress of the fortifications and the continuance of military preparations there, and praying the advice of con-

gress as to whether the patriotic inhabitants should leave the town, or should allow themselves to be virtually held as "hostages for the submission of the Country." Congress by resolution formally approved what had been done by the people of Massachusetts and declared that, if an attempt should be made to execute the acts of parliament by force, "all America ought to support them in their opposition." Subsequent resolutions urged that, in case the inhabitants of Boston found it absolutely necessary to abandon the town, "all America ought to contribute towards recompensing them for the injury they may thereby sustain;" and that all persons accept-

ing office or acting under the obnoxious acts "ought to be held in detestation and abhorrence by all good men, and considered as the wicked tools of that despotism, which is preparing to destroy those rights which God, nature, and compact have given to America." These resolutions passed unanimously. A further motion, however, recommending the inhabitants of Massachusetts to submit to a suspension of the administration of justice where justice could not be had under the charter and laws of the province, was carried by a majority only, Richard Henry Lee being among those who voted against it.

The debates attending the passage of these and other resolutions of the congress, and the opposition that in some cases prevented unanimity, showed the lack of accord among the delegates as to the best line of action. Between the radicals who would not hesitate to provoke a rupture, and the extreme conservatives who drew back from every hint of independence, were the majority bent upon asserting the rights of the colonies without giving Great Britain any just cause of offense. Washington wrote: "I am well satisfied that no such thing [as independence] is desired by any thinking man in all North America; on the contrary, that it is the ardent wish of the warmest advocates for liberty that peace and tranquillity, on constitutional grounds, may be restored and the horrors of civil discord prevented." To the same effect wrote John Adams: "If it is a secret hope of many, as I suspect it is, that the congress will advise to offensive measures, they will be mistaken. . . . Their [the delegates] opinions are fixed against hostilities and rupture, except they should become absolutely necessary; and this necessity they do not yet see."

On the fourteenth of October, congress agreed to the "declaration and resolves" reported by its committee on the rights and grievances of the colonies. This great state paper, after summarily reviewing the grievances of the colonies, declares: 1, that the colonists, by the laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and

I 7 7 4

A
Conservative
but Resolute
Majority

October 9

The
Declaration
of Rights

1 7 7 4 their own charters and laws, are entitled to life, liberty, and property; 2, that they have inherited from the ancestors who settled America "all the rights, liberties, and immunities of free and natural born" English subjects so far as their local circumstances permit; 3, that they are entitled to the common law of England including trial by jury, to such English statutes in force at the time of colonization as are locally applicable, and to the privileges of their charters and laws; 4, that they have a right peaceably to assemble and to petition the king; 5, that the maintenance of a standing army in a colony in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature, is contrary to law; and, 6, that the exercise of legislative power by a council appointed by the king and holding office during the royal pleasure is "unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation." A list of the parliamentary statutes that were held to be infringements of these rights was also given.

The
Regulation of
Commerce

The fourth resolve, dealing with the crucial question of the right of parliament to regulate trade, occasioned long debate and elicited great difference of opinion. According to John Adams's diary, the debate on the thirteenth continued from ten o'clock until half-past four; five colonies being in favor of conceding the right and five opposed, while two, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, were divided among themselves. The resolution as adopted, prepared originally by John Adams and not essentially altered by the congress, is as follows: "That the foundation of English Liberty, and of all free Government, is a right in the people to participate in their Legislative Council: and as the English Colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several Provincial Legislatures, where their right of Representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their Sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, from the neces-

sity of the case and a regard to the mutual interest of both Countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such Acts of the British Parliament, as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole Empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of Taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects, in America, without their consent."

This resolution, carefully read, indicates strong differences of opinion regarding the most vital issue then before the country. It asserts complete legislative independence of Great Britain in internal affairs and taxation, yet concedes to parliament the right to regulate colonial trade; in other words, it does not hang well together. It embodies, in a modified form, the principle that James Otis had enunciated in his speech against the writs of assistance and that derived its only validity from the assumption that commercial regulation was not taxation. Of course, commercial regulation might not take the form of taxation, especially if the net produce of fees and other charges was devoted to colonial uses. But since the parliamentary right to regulate, if it existed at all, existed completely and without limit, it might at any time happen that what was done by parliament under the name of regulation would appear to the colonies, and appear in fact, as a tax. The resolution thus represents a half-way point, an untenable position beyond which the congress did not as yet feel able to go. To go further meant independence; it was necessary to wait.

An Untenable
Position

On Friday, the thirtieth of September, the congress had voted that all exportation to Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies ought to cease from and after the tenth of September, 1775, "unless the grievances of America are redressed before that time," and appointed a committee to bring in a plan for carrying the resolution into effect. The report of the committee was brought in on the twelfth of October, agreed to on the eighteenth,

The
Association of
the United
Colonies

1774

1774 and signed by fifty-three members on the twentieth. This agreement, known as the "Association," pledged the colonies to the non-importation of British goods, East India tea, molasses, coffee, or pimento from British colonies, Madeira wines, or indigo, after the first of December following. No slaves were to be imported and the slave-trade was to be wholly discontinued. To the pledge of non-importation was added that of non-consumption of the proscribed commodities. Non-exportation, however, was suspended until the tenth of September, 1775, and then was not to include rice. The improvement of the breed of sheep was recommended, and all extravagance, such as horse-racing, gaming, cock-fighting, shows and plays, excessive display of mourning, and "the giving of gloves and scarves at funerals," was to be discouraged. No one was to be allowed to take advantage of the scarcity of goods to raise prices. For the enforcement of the "Association," committees were to be chosen in every county and town, with authority "attentively to observe the conduct of all persons" touching the agreement; the names of violators to be published, that they may be "publicly known, and universally condemned as the enemies of American Liberty."

Opposition
and
Compromise

This "self-denying ordinance," calling as it did for universal patriotism, was agreed to only after earnest discussion and with pronounced opposition. Some regarded the scheme as impracticable; some foresaw general bankruptcy following a general cessation of trade. "How shall the buyer know," asked Chase, "whether the duties have been paid or not?" "Many gentlemen in this room," replied Lynch of South Carolina, "know how to bring in goods, sugars, and others, without paying duties." While most of the delegates favored non-importation, the opposition to non-exportation was strong in both the New England and the middle colonies that traded extensively with the West Indies, and in the southern colonies that sold their staple products mainly in Europe. Virginia urged that non-exportation be postponed, while South Carolina "refused to accede to any

The first paper of the series is a paper on the history of the paper industry in the United States, and the second is a paper on the history of the paper industry in the United Kingdom.

measure which should prohibit the exportation of rice or indigo." Virginia withdrew its opposition, but South Carolina saved its rice which was exempted from the operation of the "Association."

An address to the people of Great Britain, drafted by John Jay, was agreed to on the twenty-first of October. It reviews at length the history of the relations between the colonies and the mother country and urges strongly the injustice and unwarrantableness of the late acts of parliament. "You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of Government, and desirous of Independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness; we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the Empire; we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own. But if you are determined that your Ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind; if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the Constitution, or the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must then tell you that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water for any Ministry or Nation in the world."

An Address
to the People
of England

A still more elaborate and detailed historical review was presented in a memorial to the people of the colonies, drafted by Richard Henry Lee and adopted by the congress on the twenty-first of October. The policy of commercial retaliation, embodied in the "Association," was particularly commended and its scrupulous observance earnestly urged; while at the same time the people were exhorted to "be in all respects prepared for every contingency." A letter to the inhabitants of Quebec, prepared by John Dickinson, was agreed to on the twenty-sixth. The people of Quebec were assured that "your province is the only link wanting to compleat the bright and strong chain of union;" and the cause of civil and religious liberty, to both of which the policy of the

Memorial
Letter and
Petition

1 7 7 4 ministry was declared to be opposed, was fervidly urged. The letter was translated into French and extensively circulated, but alone of all the measures of the congress failed to awaken response. Last of all came a petition to the king. The first draft, prepared by Patrick Henry, was not satisfactory, and another, more conciliatory in tone, was made by Dickinson. "We ask but for Peace, Liberty, and Safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favour. . . . We present this Petition only to obtain redress of Grievances and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of Statutes and Regulations adopted since the close of the late war."

Adjournment

October 26

An American
Sovereign

Then, with thanks to the house of representatives of Pennsylvania for the courtesies extended to it, the congress dissolved. It had already provided for the holding of another congress on the tenth of May, 1775, at Philadelphia, "unless the redress of grievances which we have desired be obtained before that time."

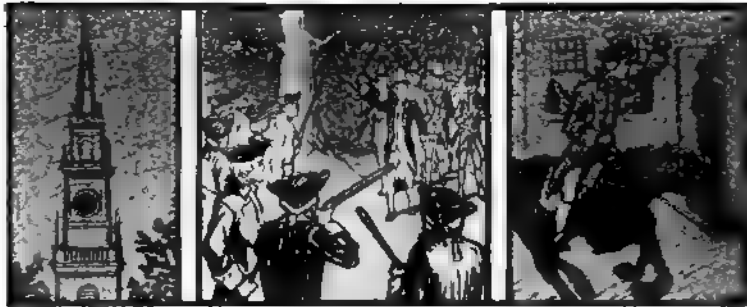
The first continental congress occupies a position of peculiar interest in the development of American federal government. The members were variously chosen. They were without instructions, save to discuss the grievances of the colonies and concert measures of joint resistance. They had no legal authority to bind any colony or any person by their action, or to punish any disregard of their suggestions. They were merely, in the words of one writer, the "mouthpiece" of the colonies. Yet, from the first, the congress assumed that it did, though in an imperfect way, represent the colonies, and that something like authority would attach to its decisions. It formulated official statements of the case for the colonies. It assumed that the colonies proposed to stand together, and that no colony would act independently. It was appealed to by Massachusetts for advice, and it gave the advice asked for. It communicated directly with General Gage. It promulgated a plan of commercial non-intercourse, directed the manner of its enforcement, and branded as public enemies those who

should disobey it. It recommended a second congress. 1774
These were acts of a sovereign government, elementary and tentative but sovereign. At least, formal suggestion was put forth with the expectation that it would be accorded the course of law.

The issue had been broadened from that of no taxation without representation to that of no legislation without representation. At Philadelphia, John Adams read to Patrick Henry the statement of Joseph Hawley, that recent ministerial action had made it necessary to fight, and the Virginian answered: "I am of that man's opinion;" there were many others who felt as did Hawley and Henry. But we must not read back the decisions of a later time. There was as yet no pronounced desire for independence. Save for radical patriots here and there, the men in public life knew too well the cost of revolution, the burdens of independence, and the willingness of Great Britain to fight, to enter lightly upon a struggle fraught with such dreadful consequences. Men still believed that the king, if rightly informed, would hear their prayer and grant their requests. The American revolution was still in the stage of protest.

The New
Issue





C H A P T E R X I V

T H E W A R B E G U N

The Dragon's
Teeth

IN July, 1774, a month after Hutchinson bade adieu to blockaded Boston, Admiral Graves sailed into the harbor, followed soon by transports with additional regiments of soldiers. Thirty war-ships rode at anchor below the town, and red-coated regulars occupied the castle, and guarded the royal power at Salem.

Alas for the Mother's ways !
She sowed the dragon's teeth
And quick upsprung the spears,
The iron spears of death,
With iron hearts beneath,
And the war-storm's angry breath.

Provisions from other colonies poured into Boston. In August, Israel Putnam rode over Boston Neck with a gift of one hundred and thirty sheep from his townsmen in Connecticut. Everywhere the efforts of king and ministers to enforce obedience to their measures had intensified colonial indignation and cemented colonial union. Nor were men confining themselves to thoughts of peaceable resistance. From the Old Dominion came word that George Washington was ready to raise a thousand men and march to the relief of Boston. Twenty years before, Gage had seen the young Virginian "saving all that was saved on Braddock's bloody day."

Gage Moves
Back to
Boston

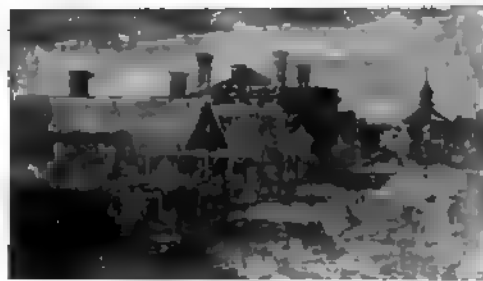
Post hoc or propter hoc, Gage shortly removed his headquarters from Salem to Boston, taking two regiments with him. We have already seen him, in September, sending troops to transfer the cannons and ammunition

from the powder-house at Quarry Hill, Somerville, to the castle, building defenses across Boston Neck, and preparing barracks. He found it increasingly difficult, however, to hire laborers or to buy provisions. "Somehow his freight barges sunk, his carts of straw got on fire, his wagons were sloughed." In emulation of his removal of the field-pieces from the powder-house, a few young "patriots" stealthily carried off by night some cannons from Boston and others from an old battery in Charlestown. Everywhere there was a secret and concerted opposition the pervasiveness and watchfulness of which he felt, but the activity of which he could neither circumvent nor control. He soon found that his troops on the "Neck" needed protection, and a sloop of war took up a position in South Bay where it could enfilade the road from Roxbury "if occasion came."

Thus graciously the war I wage,
As witnesseth my hand—
Tom Gage.

The general court had been summoned to meet at Salem on the fifth of October, but a week before that date it was dissolved by proclamation. The members assembled, however, and organized as a provincial congress, thus substituting a revolutionary government for that provided by the charter. John Hancock was chosen president and Benjamin Lincoln clerk. For safety, the congress removed to Concord. A committee on the state of the province was appointed and an open letter addressed to the governor. Tax collectors and other holders of public money were advised to retain the funds in their hands until such time as a legally constituted government should be

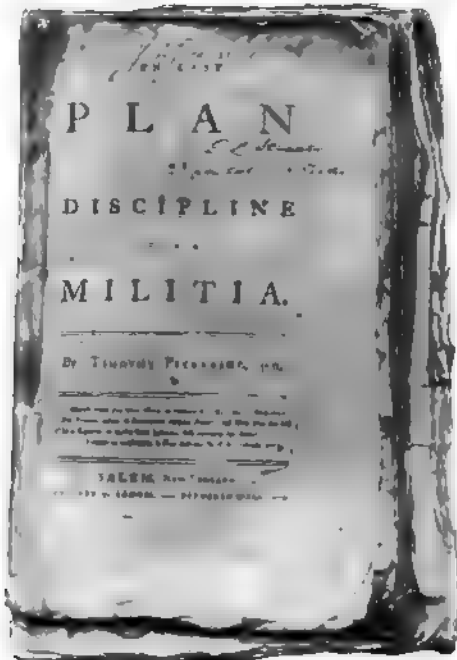
A Provincial
Congress



View of Washington Street, Salem, 1765-70
(Shows in the distance old schoolhouse and whipping-post)

1774 established. Gage warned the congress to “desist from such illegal and unconstitutional proceedings;” but the sessions were continued with closed doors. A provincial treasurer was presently appointed, delegates to the second continental congress were chosen, a committee was created to report on population and manufactures, and an address to the people of Massachusetts was issued. On the tenth of December, the congress dissolved.

A Committee of Safety The chief executive agency of the provincial congress was a committee of safety consisting of nine members,



Title-page of Pickering's *An Easy Plan of Discipline for a Militia*, Salem, 1775

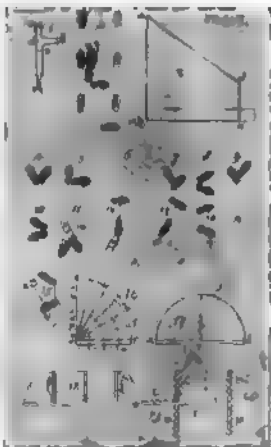


Diagram from Pickering's *Work on Tactics*

three from Boston and six from the country districts, and clothed with powers similar to those of the royal governor. Among the members were Warren, Orme, Lee, Gray, and Heath. The committee was created on the twenty-seventh of October and its first meeting was held on the seventh of November. In case any attempt was made to carry out by force the provisions of the Boston port act, the committee was to alarm, muster, and assemble the minutemen

with the utmost expedition, completely armed, accoutred, and supplied, together with as much of the militia as might be deemed necessary,

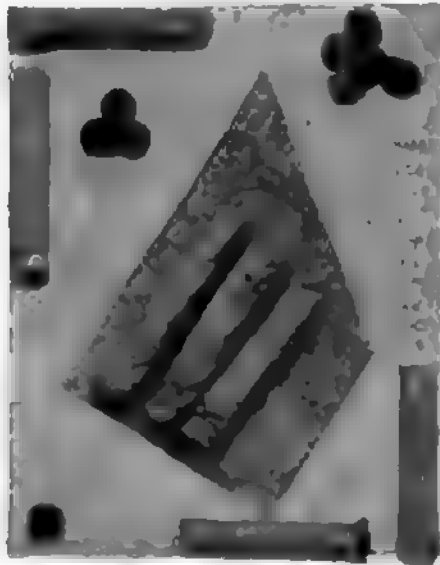
and at such places as should be judged proper.

Under its direction, the minutemen were reformed into companies and the towns were advised to see that each of them "not already provided therewith should be immediately

equipped with an effective firearm, bayonet, pouch, knapsack, and thirty rounds of cartridge and balls, and be disciplined three times a week, and oftener as opportunity may offer. In case of deficiency, selectmen were to provide the necessary equipment. This committee was replaced a few months later by one of eleven members, most of whom were members of the earlier organization.

The call to military preparation met prompt and hearty response. In Danvers, the parish deacon was elected captain of the minutemen; the minister served as his

1774



Bullets, Cartridges, and Cartridge Paper



Iron Bullet Mold

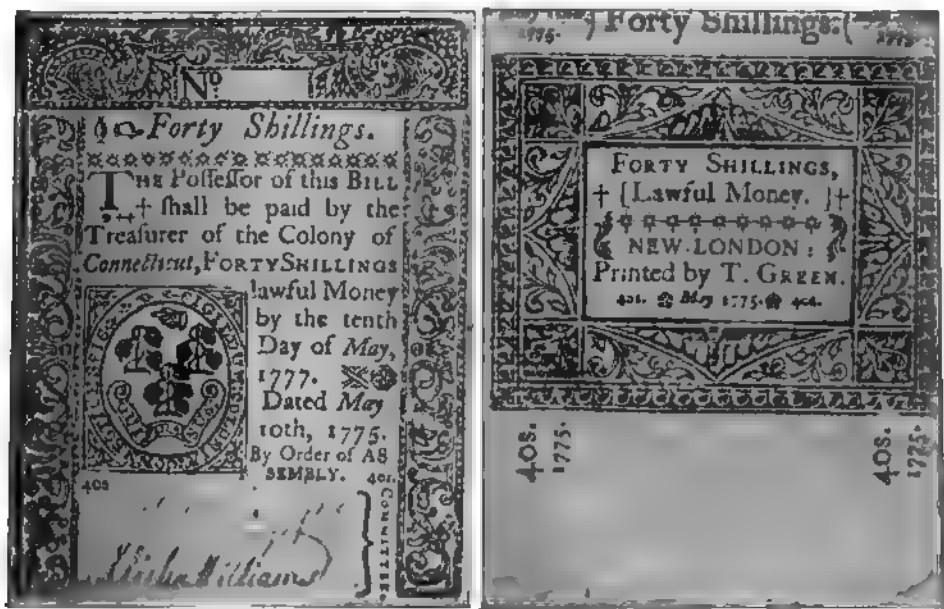


Iron Ladle for Melting Lead

Revolutionary Relics, reproduced from originals kindly loaned by John E. L. Hazen, Shirley, Mass.

Soldiers,
Powder, and
Paper Money

1774 lieutenant, and, on Sunday, exhorted the zealous sons of liberty to fight bravely for God and country and, on Monday, trained with them for the coming carnal conflict. When the British troops went into winter quarters, John Adams rejoiced that Massachusetts could put twenty-five thousand men in the field within a week, and that New England had two hundred thousand men “not exact soldiers but all used to arms.” Connecticut, in addition to organizing her militia and collecting ammunition, voted an issue of fifteen thou-



Currency of the Revolution, first issued by Connecticut in 1775

sand pounds in paper money—the first of the revolutionary period. When news came from England that no further shipments of military stores to America, save for the king’s troops, were to be allowed, the colonists seized the existing supply and prepared to make what they needed. Ames’s *Almanack* for 1775 described a method of making gunpowder, by which every person “may easily supply himself with a sufficiency

The Method of making Gun-Powder.

By following which Dr. Shaw every Person may easily supply himself with a sufficient quantity of that Commodity.

GUN POWDER is a composition of salt Petre, Sulphur, and Charcoal, mixed together, and usually granulated, (formed into small grains) which easily takes fire, and when kindled, rarifies or expands, with great vehemence, by means of its elastic force. It is to this Powder we owe all the action and effect of Guns, Ordnance, &c.

The following is Dr. Shaw's Recipe for proportioning the ingredients and making of it: Take four ounces of refined Salt Petre, an ounce of Brimstone, and six drams of small coal; reduce these to a fine powder, and continue beating them for some time in a stone mortar, with a wooden pestle, wetting the mixture between whiles with water, so as to form the whole into a uniform paste, which is reduced to grains, by pressing it through a wire sieve for that purpose; and in this time being carefully stirred, it becomes the common Gun powder. For making large quantities, Mills are usually provided, by means of which the work may be performed in one day, than a Manège does in an hour. The Nitre or Salt Petre is thus refined, take four pounds of rough Nitre as it comes to us, in the first place, by boiling it in as much water, as will commodiously suffice for that purpose; then let it stand for two or three days in a covered vessel of earth, with three hand scoops for the crystals to rise to. These crystals being taken out, are dried in the sun, in order to reduce this salt to powder, they dissolve in as much proportion of water as possible, then keep it constantly stirring over the fire, till the water exhales, when a white, dry powder is left behind. In order to purify the Brimstone employed they dissolve it with a very gentle heat; then strain and press it through a strainer; the Brimstone is judged to be sufficiently refined if it melts without yielding any found up, or when put between two iron plates: care must be taken that the Brimstone does not take fire in melting. The Coal for making of Gun powder is either that of willow, or hazel, well-charged (burnt) and reduced to a powder. The ingredients being thus prepared, it requires that they be well mixed, and as there would be danger of its catching fire if beat in a dry form, the method is to keep them continually moist, either with water or urine or a solution of Sal ammoniac: after its being well beat the mass is fit for drying and drying in the sun, or otherwise so as sedulously prevent taking fire. — Large grain'd Powder has the same ingredients.

METHOD OF MAKING GUNPOWDER
(From Ames's Almanack for 1775)

1774 of the commodity," and so made the process known to every family in New England. Mills for making powder and arms were set up in several provinces and orders were given for casting heavy cannons. Massachusetts, in particular, was like a powder magazine that might explode at any moment.



Taking Sides

Title-page of a Treatise on the Manufacture of Gunpowder

In December, the "Sons of Liberty" at Portsmouth carried off the powder and cannons from the fort, the movement being led by John Sullivan, a leading lawyer who had represented New Hampshire in the continental congress, and John Langdon, a merchant of the town. Forty-four cannons at Newport were seized and carried to Providence. "When called upon by the British naval commander for an explanation, Governor Wanton bluntly avowed that these cannon had been taken away to prevent their falling into his hands, and were intended for use against any power that might offer to molest the colony." Resolutions directing the purchase of powder and the arming and training of the people were passed by the assembly. At Salem and Marblehead, the unemployed fishermen organized military companies and drilled three times a week. On the other hand, the loyalists were not idle. Under the lead of Timothy Ruggles, an association was formed to counteract the influence of the congress at Philadelphia; but the popular resentment was so great that, in January, 1775, Governor Gage found it necessary to send Captain Balfour and a hundred men to Marshfield to protect Ruggles and his associates. The troops encountered no resistance.

Meantime, the delegates to the continental congress had reported to the people of the several colonies the proceedings of their meeting at Philadelphia. Those from Massachusetts made their report in November to the provincial congress, which voted approval and chose the same delegates for the ensuing year. A convention in Maryland took similar action and authorized military preparations. In Pennsylvania, approval came from the assembly, while South Carolina expressed its concurrence through a provincial convention of which Charles Pinckney was president. The New Jersey assembly approved, as did the New Hampshire convention. The enforcement of the "Association," however, occasioned difficulty in many quarters. Local committees, often self-constituted, exercised rigorously their inquisitorial powers, visiting houses and stores in search of British goods, posting the names of real or alleged offenders in public places, and freely using threats and intimidation to secure conformity. In South Carolina, the exemption of rice was denounced as "a piece of unjustifiable partiality," but an effort to instruct the delegates to the next congress to secure a removal of the exemption failed. The Pennsylvania Quakers opposed the enforcement of the agreement on the grounds that it was a step towards independence, but a convention, of which Joseph Reed was president and Thomas Mifflin, a Quaker, one of the leading members, presently resolved in favor of forcible resistance in case the late acts of parliament were enforced.

1 7 7 4
The Colonies
Approve the
Work of the
Continental
Congress

Governor Dunmore of Virginia reported that in that province the "Association" was being enforced "with the greatest rigor." "A Committee has been chosen in every County, whose business it is to carry the Association of the Congress into execution, which Committee assumes an authority to inspect the books, invoices and all other secrets of the trade and correspondence of Merchants; to watch the conduct of every inhabitant, without distinction, and to send for all such as come under their suspicion into their presence; to interrogate them respecting all matters which, at their pleasure, they think fit

In Virginia

1 7 7 5 objects of their inquiry; and to stigmatize, as they term it, such as they find transgressing what they are now hardly enough to call the Laws of the Congress, which stigmatizing is no other than inviting the vengeance of an outrageous and lawless mob to be exercised upon the unhappy victims." Every county, moreover, was arming a company of men. As for the royal authority, it was practically in abeyance. "There is not a justice of the Peace in *Virginia* that acts, except as a Committeeman;" nor will the lawyers attend court.

The
Massachusetts
Congress

The Massachusetts provincial congress reconvened at Cambridge on the first of February, 1775. Its doings are said to have been regularly reported to Governor Gage by Doctor Benjamin Church who had been prominent in the Boston "tea-party" and who still had the confidence of the patriot leaders. Church soon became a surgeon in charge of the hospital service of the continental army, but later fell into disgrace through questionable conduct. We shall hear of him again. The congress pressed on the work of military preparation, but urged the people to avoid everything that could provoke hostilities.

Secrecy and
Vigilance

Neither side cared to take the responsibility for the first blow, although it was plain to both parties that blows must soon come. On the eighteenth of February, Peter Oliver wrote to London: "Great preparations on both sides for an engagement." On the twentieth, Warren wrote: "Every day, every hour widens the breach!" The utmost secrecy was joined to the greatest vigilance. "Cannon were conveyed from the town to the country in carts, under the appearance of loads of manure; half barrels of gunpowder were put into butcher's pads, or the hampers of marketmen, as they returned home in the evening; and cartridges were packed in candle boxes, and sent off. Sometimes prizes were made; and in one instance over thirteen thousand cartridges and three thousand pounds of balls were seized. But this mishap, so far from disheartening, only stimulated to increased vigilance."

While the patriots were careful to avoid collision with the soldiers, they were not so careful of the persons and property of loyalists. A writer in *Rivington's Gazette* signing himself "Plain English," gives numerous instances of the way in which the partisans of the king had of late been coerced or silenced. For instance, Daniel Leonard of Taunton, a "mandamus councilor," was driven from home and compelled to take refuge in Boston. The house of Attorney-general Sewall at Cambridge had its windows broken and the Plymouth men who had signed a memorial to Hutchinson were compelled to recant. At Halifax, in Plymouth County, Jesse Dunbar had bought some cattle of one of the obnoxious councilors; he was seized, fastened inside the carcass of one of the oxen, carted four miles, and was then turned over to the Kingston mob, which carried him four miles further, and then threw dirt at him and left him.

1 7 7 5
The Penalties
of Loyalty

March 9

Colonial newspapers teemed with discussions of colonial rights, while broadsides and posters spread the spirit of resistance. Occasionally the loyalists essayed the use of printer's ink, though they frequently got into trouble by so doing. A typical case occurred in Kent County, Delaware, where an article containing sentiments hostile to the patriot cause appeared in *Humphrey's Ledger*. The committee of correspondence summoned the offending author to meet them at Dover "and render such satisfaction to the committee, as will enable them to clear the good people of this country from the aspersions of that letter, and justify them in the eyes of the public." At the appointed time, the luckless "R. H." appeared, and "with sorrow and contrition for my weakness and folly," avowed that the political opinions expressed "were founded on the grossest error," begged the forgiveness of his countrymen, and solemnly promised "that I will never again oppose those laudable measures, necessarily adopted by my countrymen, for the preservation of American freedom."

The Freedom
of the Press

On the twenty-sixth of February, Gage, perhaps encouraged by the submission of the people at Marsh-

The Salem
Affair

1775 field, sent Colonel Leslie with a detachment to seize some cannons at Salem. It was Sunday, and the people were at church when the troops landed at Marblehead and took up their march. But the news traveled faster than



Site of Old North Bridge, Salem

the soldiers, and, when Leslie reached the North Bridge, he found the draw open and his further passage disputed. He ordered the draw to be lowered, but was told that it was a private way and that he had no right to pass over it. Then he tried to get possession of some boats near by, but they were pushed off. There were a scuffle and a few bayonet thrusts, when the Reverend Mr. Barnard of Salem intervened and an agreement was made by which the bridge was

lowered. Leslie and his men marched over, and then

Without loss of time or men,
Veered round for Boston back again,
And found so well their projects thrive,
That every soul got home alive.

The
Anniversary
Oration

As the fifth anniversary of the "Boston massacre" fell on Sunday, it was arranged that the usual oration should be delivered on the sixth. British officers were reported to have declared that any one who should speak in the Old South meeting-house on that day should pay for it with his life, and a Boston Tory wrote to Hutchinson in London that "bloodshed and desolation seemed inevitable." Warren promptly begged for the dangerous honor and spoke stirringly upon "the baleful influence of standing armies in time of peace." So great was the crowd that, rather than risk a disturbance by elbowing his way through the aisles, the speaker climbed a ladder and entered the building by a window at the back of the pulpit. Forty British officers were in the front seats, while others occupied the pulpit stairs.

The oration was at once vehement and prudent, suggesting much, yet avoiding anything that could be called treason. For example, this: "Even the sending of

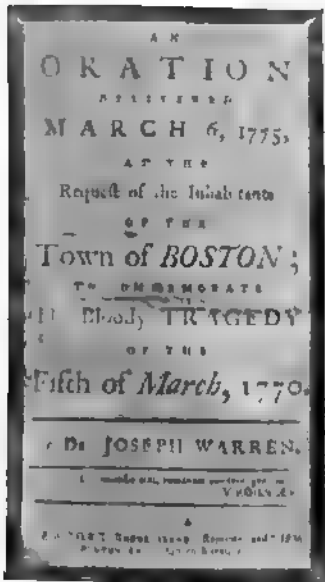
1 7 7 5
Warren's
Patriotic
Prudence

troops to put these acts in execution is not without advantages to us. The exactness and beauty of their discipline inspire our youth with ardor in the pursuit of military knowledge. Charles the Invincible taught Peter the Great the art of war. The battle of Pultowa convinced Charles of the proficiency Peter had made."



Jos Warren

And this: "If it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward until tyranny is trodden under foot, and you have fixed your adored Goddess Liberty fast by a Brunswick's side on the American throne." While Warren was speaking, an officer on the pulpit stairs held up some bullets in his open palm. The speaker quietly dropped his handker-



Title-page of Warren's Memorial Oration of March 6, 1775

1775
Tar and
Feathers
March 8

Earl Percy's
Jaunt

chief on the "leaden menace" and warmed up to his work. There were hissings and poundings of canes when the vote of thanks was given, and, as the people passed from the church, they noticed, not without apprehension, that the forty-third regiment was marching by, drums beating.

A few days later, a man from Billerica, while trading with the soldiers, was arrested, tarred and feathered, and paraded through the streets as "American Liberty or a Specimen of Democracy." The pretense for the arrest was that the man was urging a soldier to desert. This outrage brought to Gage a significant remonstrance that ended with these words: "May it please your Excellency, we must tell you we are determined, if the innocent inhabitants of our Country Towns (for we must think this man innocent in this affair) must be interrupted by Soldiers in their lawful intercourse with . . . the town of Boston, and treated with the most brutish ferocity, we shall hereafter use a different style from that of petition and complaint."

The provincial congress had adjourned at Cambridge on the sixteenth of February; it met again at Concord on the twenty-second of March. Gage had spies prowling about the country,



Hugh, Earl Percy

studying its topography and observing the patriot preparations. On the thirtieth, Earl Percy was sent with five regiments on a ten-mile march to Jamaica Plain and Dorchester and return—to work the winter cramps out of the troops. The excursion was without particular incident, but the committee of safety and the minutemen were alert; Warren wrote: "Had they attempted to destroy any magazines or to abuse the people, not a man of them would have returned to Boston." On the fifteenth of April the provincial congress adjourned. Samuel Adams and Hancock, already marked for arrest, went to Lexington where Gage could not reach them, and many others moved out of Boston.

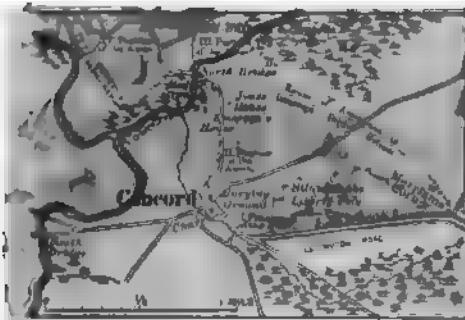
In Virginia, Patrick Henry was declaring: "We must fight; an appeal to arms and to the God of hosts is all that is left to us." This, the greatest of Henry's orations, was delivered in Saint John's church at Rich-



Interior of Saint John's Church

mond on the twenty-third of March, 1775. Passages therefrom have served school-boys for a hundred years as favorite declamations, and for gray-haired men some of them still sing in memory, such as the beautiful interro-

1775 gation: "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery?"—a bit of melody, says George Morgan, "as from an old fife at Lexington; it is simple; it is strong; it compacts in a few Saxon words the whole story of the Revolutionary struggle." From Virginia, couriers spread



the welcome tidings northward, meeting on the way other riders with the news that the Green Mountain Boys were ready to seize Ticonderoga when the first blow elsewhere gave excuse. Early in April, ships from England brought to Marblehead word that more troops were coming, and with them Howe, Clinton, Burgoyne, and other experienced officers. A few days later, a committee of the Massachusetts provincial congress made a report on a proposed armed alliance of the New England colonies, and a New England army began to take form. The frigate "Somerset" and the armed transports took up new positions, the better to cooperate with the forces in Boston.



Paul Revere

Revere's Agreement

On Sunday, the sixteenth of April, Gage had the boats

of the transports launched. Warren sent Paul Revere, a coppersmith and engraver whose services as courier between Boston and Philadelphia have already been noted, to report the fact to Adams and Hancock at Lexington. At Charlestown, on his return, Revere agreed with Colonel Conant and other gentlemen that "if the British went out by water, we should show two lanthorns in the North Church steeple,—and if by land, one, as a signal."

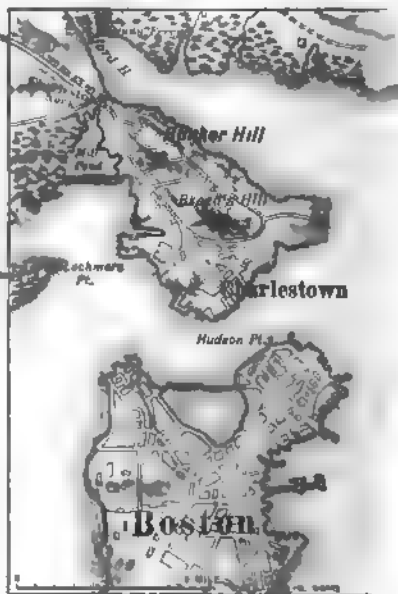
The Massachusetts towns had their several magazines. The stores and arms collected by the provincial congress were at Concord and Worcester. On Tuesday, the British began preparations for the removal of the stores at Concord, and Gage sent officers to patrol the Concord road and to intercept any messengers who might attempt to carry word of what was taking place. The patriot leaders, however, had been warned by a "daughter of liberty unequally yoked in point of politics" (perhaps General Gage's wife who was of New Jersey birth), and were ready for action.

In the evening, British soldiers marched across Boston Common toward the inner bay. William Dawes at once set out for Concord by way of Boston Neck and Roxbury, while Paul Revere crossed the river to Charlestown. With the appearance of the signal lights in the North Church belfry, Revere began the midnight ride that Longfellow's poetic genius, unfettered by strict regard for historical accuracy, has made a household tale. By eleven o'clock, Lieutenant-colonel Smith, with eight hundred men, was crossing the "back bay" to Lechmere Point, now East Cambridge. The moon was well up when, at half-past two on Wednesday morning, the troops set out on

The Stores at Concord

April 18

Route followed by Paul Revere
Route followed by British Troops in advancing on Lexington and Concord



Route from Concord to Lexington and Boston

1775

Revere and
Dawes

April 19



William Dawes

their well-watched way toward Concord. Meantime, Revere had roused the minutemen at Medford, and, about midnight, delivered his message of warning to Adams and Hancock at Lexington where he was joined by Dawes, and by Doctor Prescott, "a high Son of Liberty" who had lingered late with his sweetheart. The three had not gone far when Revere was captured by British scouts and carried back as a prisoner to Lexington.

Prescott and Dawes escaped and reached Concord with the news.

At Lexington

Lieutenant-colonel Smith found that the country was thoroughly aroused and sent back to Boston a request for reinforcements, and sent ahead a strong guard under Major Pitcairn to seize the bridge across the river at



Hancock-Clark House, Lexington, where Adams and Hancock were staying on the night of April 19

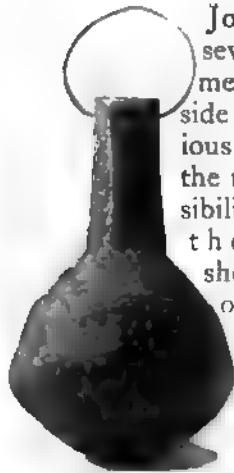




THE BATTLE OF LARINGTON, APRIL 19, 1775.—PLATE I, ENGRAVED BY AMOS DOOLITTLE
(Reduced reproduction from original colored engraving in the collection of the
Bangor (Maine) Historical Society, kindly loaned for this purpose.)

1775 Concord. At daybreak, Pitcairn halted his men on the village green in front of the meeting-house at Lexington. Here were Captain

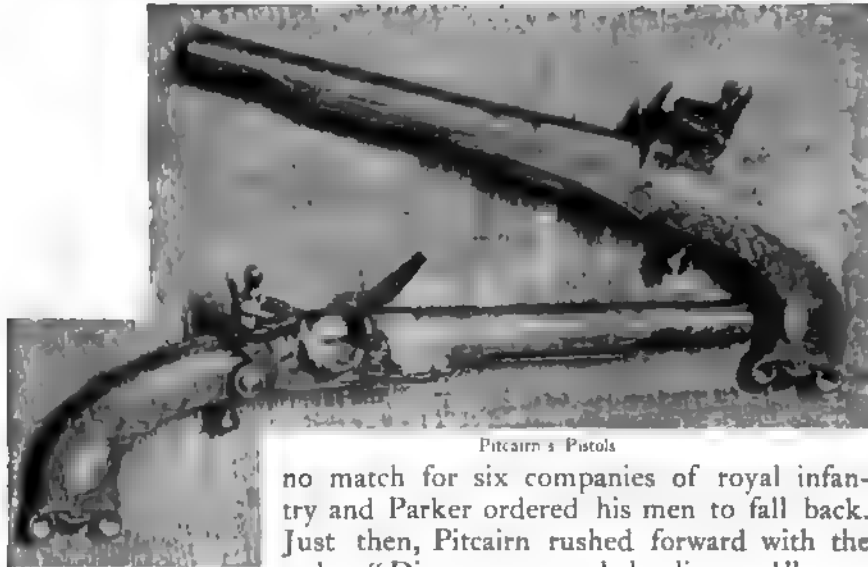
John Parker and seventy minute-men. Each side was anxious to avoid the responsibility for the first shot; Gage's orders on the subject had been positive and the expressed wish of the continental congress, reinforced by the warning of the provincial congress, had been impressed upon all the Massachusetts towns. The few minutemen were



Clapper of the Bell that summoned the citizens of Lexington on April 19



Monument to Captain Parker and his men at Lexington



Pitcairn's Pistols

no match for six companies of royal infantry and Parker ordered his men to fall back. Just then, Pitcairn rushed forward with the order, "Disperse, you rebels, disperse!"

Who fired the first shot has been much discussed. 1 7 7 5
The probabilities have been thus stated: "One of Parker's men, without order, drew trigger and his gun missed fire. The powder flashed in the pan. Some English soldiers, without order, also, considered this to be, as it certainly was, a sufficient signal that war had begun, and fired some irregular shots in return. These shots hurt no one; but a general discharge from the English line followed, in which many of the Lexington party were killed and wounded. They then returned the fire and the war was begun." The minutemen broke their ranks, the redcoats fired another volley in triumph, and with cheers hastened forward to Concord, eight miles beyond. The provincials cared for their dead and wounded and picked up a few stragglers from the British column. Of their seventy, seven were killed and ten wounded—one-fourth disabled by a single volley. Of the British, one was killed and one or two were wounded.

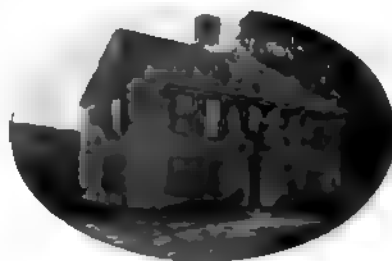


Musket carried by Robert Peele of Salem at the Battle of Lexington



Bockman Tavern near the Lexington Common
(Pierced by bullets April 19, 1775)

Anticipating Lieutenant-colonel Smith's call for reinforcements, Gage had ordered out Earl Percy and the first brigade at four o'clock in the morning. At five o'clock, Smith's message arrived, but Percy did not set out



Sewall House, Burlington, Mass.
(Hither Adams and Hancock retreated during the battle of Lexington)

Gage Sends
Earl Percy

1775 until between nine and ten, and then took the longer route by way of Roxbury and Cambridge. As the brigade passed through Roxbury, the bands played "Yankee Doodle;" a youngster shouted, "You march out to Yankee Doodle; you'll come back to Chevy Chase." Under the direction of Heath, a member of the committee of safety and now one of the general officers of militia appointed by the provincial congress, the planks had been removed from the bridge over the Charles River between Brighton and Cambridge. Percy, late in setting out and thus delayed, pushed forward with his troops as rapidly as possible, leaving his baggage train to follow as soon as the bridge had been repaired. To the questions of the officers in charge of the train, deceptive answers were given by the people along the route, and at Menotomy (West Cambridge, now Arlington) the whole convoy was captured by some old men, "exempts," led by a negro who had seen service in the late French war. The fateful collision had already occurred at Lexington and Concord and Joseph Warren had left Boston forever with the words: "They have begun it; that, either party can do: and we'll end it; that, only one can do."

Thanks to the well-laid plans of the committees of safety and correspondence, the news of what was taking place spread rapidly. Before Percy left Boston, the minutemen for thirty miles around were under way. By



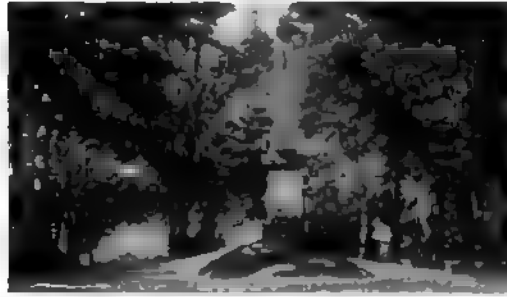
Sword carried by Major-General William Heath during the American Revolution



Drum beaten at the Battle of Lexington

At Concord

early morning, Smith and Pitcairn were at Concord but 1 7 7 5 the Concord company had already been joined by the minutemen from Lincoln, the town adjacent on the east. Seeing that he was outnumbered, Colonel Barrett withdrew his little force across the river. Smith sent out two detachments to destroy



Battle-ground Monument at Concord



The Minuteman Monument at Concord

such stores as Barrett had not been able to conceal or remove. One of the detachments went to Barrett's house, crossing the river at the North Bridge and leaving there a guard. When Barrett saw the guard begin taking up the bridge, he sent a party under Major Buttrick to pass the bridge, but with orders not to fire unless compelled to do so. As the minutemen advanced, the guard retired, and, at short range, fired three volleys, killing a few. Then came from the Americans "the shot heard round the world." That night, the Con-

1775 cord minister wrote in his diary that he "was very uneasy until the fire was returned."

The Rally
of the
Minutemen

Under ordinary circumstances, Smith would have rested his troops wearied by the long night march from Boston to Concord, but it was plain that such delay would be disastrous. The whole country was awake, and minutemen, like angry bees from overturned hives, were pouring in from every quarter. The court-house had been fired, a few cannons had been rendered useless, and some stores had been destroyed; there was nothing more to be gained and immediate retreat was imperative. Wagons were hastily collected for the wounded, a messenger was sent to hasten Percy, and the ever-memorable retreat was begun.

The British
Retreat

The minutemen were thoroughly familiar with the country and used their knowledge to good purpose. From every wall and tree, from every thicket and hill—



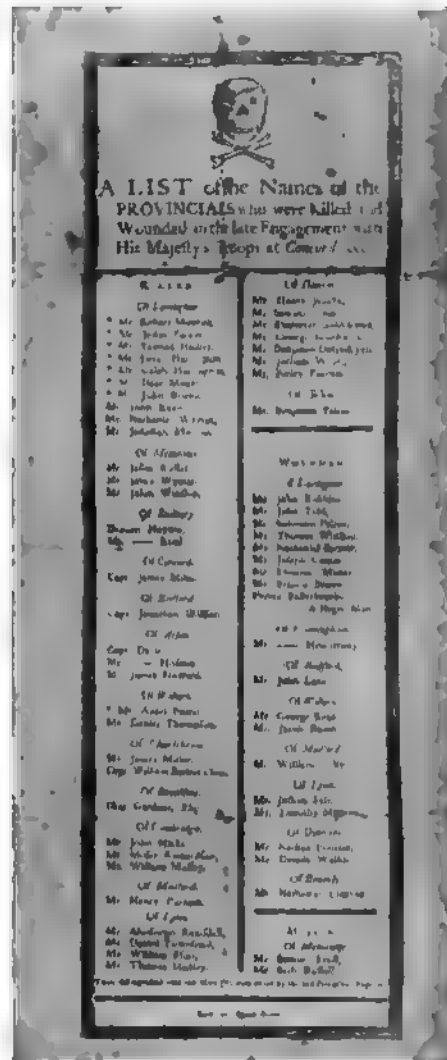
Flag of the Bedford Minutemen

"spots which the genius of Hawthorne and Emerson have converted into shrines" — a deadly fire was kept up. The weary soldiers were forced to abandon some of their dead and dying and "huddled along the road like sheep beset by dogs."

No sooner had they passed one dangerous point than the Massachusetts farmers took some short cut and, from another point of vantage, renewed the attack. "They seemed to drop from the skies," said one of the survivors. "We began to run rather than retreat in order," said another. The day was unusually warm, and when, about

two o'clock, the retreating column met Percy just east of Lexington, the men were likened to dogs with their tongues hanging out of their mouths. Percy held the minutemen in check with his field-pieces, and the eighteen hundred redcoats halted for rest and food.

When the column resumed its retreat to Boston, the attack was renewed under the direction of General Heath who had arrived to take command of the provincials. Percy did not dare to try to cross the inner bay by the boats that Smith had left at Lechmere Point the night before, but turned northward along the road to Charlestown Neck. There was a sharp action at West Cambridge plain and Warren had a pin struck from his earlock by a musketball. If Colonel Timothy Pickering and the minutemen from Essex County



Percy Safe at Charlestown

List of the Killed and Wounded

1 7 7 5 that Washington afterwards said: "God knows, it could not have been more so." Percy managed to get his troops across the Neck and, under cover of the ships of war, made a stand. Heath withdrew the provincials to Cambridge where his men slept on their arms.

The
Americans
Begin the
Siege of
Boston

A council of war was held at Prospect Hill and express riders were hurried off in all directions spreading the news that the war-cloud had burst. From town to town, from province to province, sped the news of how the British had fired upon the people and how the people had chased the British back to Boston. No fiery cross ever stirred a nation to more eager enthusiasm. Naturally, the lists of losses for the day vary somewhat. According to one account, the British loss was sixty-five killed, one hundred and seventy-eight wounded, and twenty-six missing; the American loss was forty-nine killed, thirty-six wounded, and five missing. Before morning, Percy withdrew his troops to their Boston barracks. They were needed there, for, with the Americans encamped at Cambridge, the siege of Boston had begun.

Yellow
Journalism

It is interesting to put side by side two accounts of this famous episode, as illustrations of the difficulties that beset the historian when he tries to draw the truth from contemporary documents. The *Salem Gazette* of the twenty-fifth of April, after giving a circumstantial account of the fighting and the retreat, adds: "In *Lexington* the enemy set fire to Deacon *Joseph Loring's* house and barn, Mrs. *Mullikin's* house and shop, and Mr. *Joshua Bond's* house and shop, which were all consumed. They also set fire to several other houses, but our people extinguished the flames. They pillaged almost every house they passed by, breaking and destroying doors, windows, glasses, &c., and carrying off clothing and other valuable effects. It appeared to be their design to burn and destroy all before them; and nothing but our vigorous pursuit prevented their infernal purposes from being put in execution. But the savage barbarity exercised upon the bodies of our unfortunate brethren who fell, is almost

I 7 7 4 incredible: not contented with shooting down the un-
 I 7 7 5 armed, aged, and infirm, they disregarded the cries of
 the wounded, killing them without mercy, and mangling
 their bodies in the most shocking manner. We have the
 pleasure to say, that, notwithstanding the highest provo-
 cations given by the enemy, not one instance of cruelty,
 that we have heard of, was committed by our victorious
 Militia; but listening to the merciful dictates of the
 Christian religion, they 'breathed higher sentiments of
 humanity.'"

Saffron
 Journalism

On the other hand, an account in the *London Gazette*
 of the tenth of June, based upon letters from Gage and
 others, gives a straightforward narrative of events, with
 no reference to the destruction of any property save mili-
 tary stores; but declares that "such was the cruelty and
 barbarity of the rebels, that they scalped and cut off the
 ears of some of the wounded men who fell into their
 hands."

A General
 Parliamentary
 Election

While, in America, colonial resistance was thus culmi-
 nating in war, events of great significance had been tak-
 ing place in England. After the passage of the coercive
 acts, English public opinion, somewhat weary of colonial
 disputes, had for a time shown little concern about Ameri-
 can affairs. Many thought that the worst was over, that
 the Americans, after a period of bluster, would submit to
 the authority of the mother country. On the thirtieth
 of September, 1774, however, parliament was unexpect-
 edly dissolved and the country plunged into the excite-
 ment of a general election. Wilkes, now the idol of the
 popular party, was triumphantly elected a member from
 Middlesex and lord mayor of London, while many
 former members of the commons failed of reelection.
 But the ministerial majority was not reversed, Lord
 North continued at the head of the government, and no
 intimation of ministerial policy was forthcoming. Noth-
 ing was done until after the holiday recess; it was the
 calm before the storm.

Parliament
 is Resolute

When parliament reassembled, on the nineteenth of
 January, 1775, voluminous papers relating to colonial

affairs, including the petition to the king adopted by the continental congress, were laid before the houses. The

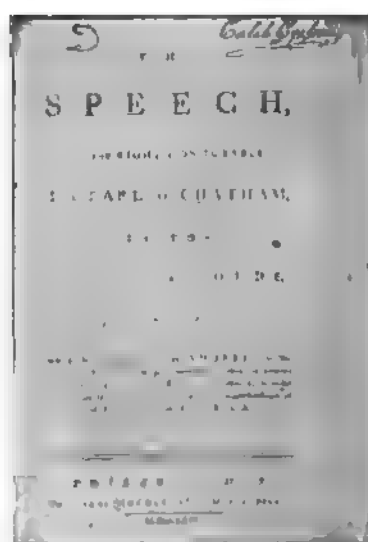
next day, Lord Chatham moved an address to the king "for recalling the troops from Boston;" after a long debate, the motion was rejected by a vote of

eighteen to sixty-eight. Petitions from the merchants of London, Bristol, Glasgow, and other commercial centers, praying for a change of policy and the protection of their trade, were refused consideration.

On the first of February, Lord Chatham offered the outlines of a bill "for settling the troubles in America, and for asserting the

supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." The bill authorized the holding of a congress in May for the purpose of acknowledging the authority of the mother country and making a free grant to the crown; restrained the powers of the courts of admiralty; suspended the acts or parts of acts complained of by the continental congress; and recognized the charter rights of the colonies. The bill was summarily rejected and an address to the king, pledging him "support at all hazards in measures to put down rebellion," was agreed to by large majorities. Eighteen lords protested against "an address amounting to a declaration of war."

On the tenth of February, in the commons, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill to restrain the trade and commerce of the New England colonies to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies; and to exclude those colonies, under certain conditions and



Title-page of Lord Chatham's Speech in the House of Lords

The New
England
Restraining
Bill

1 7 7 5 for a limited time, from the Newfoundland fisheries. A vote of two hundred and sixty-one to eighty-five, more than three to one, gave the desired permission, and, on the seventeenth, the bill was presented. The bill was to take effect on the first of July and to continue in force until such time as it should appear to the governor and council in the respective colonies "that peace and obedience to the laws shall be so far restored . . . that the trade and commerce of his Majesty's subjects may be carried on without interruption within the same." The bill passed the commons on the eighth of March, and the lords on the twenty-first. The lords added an amendment, including New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina within the scope of the act; but, as the commons had already under consideration a separate bill restraining the trade of the southern colonies, they rejected the amendment, and the bill became a law on the thirtieth of March. Sixteen lords protested.

15 Geo. III.
cap. 10

Lord North's
Overture

On the twentieth of February, Lord North startled the house by offering, in committee of the whole, a conciliatory resolution. "When the Governor, Council, and Assembly, or General Court," so ran the motion, "of any of his Majesty's Provinces or Colonies in *America* shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such Province or Colony, for contributing their proportion to the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court, or General Assembly, of such Province or Colony, and disposable by Parliament,) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the Civil Government, and the Administration of Justice, in such Province or Colony, it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such Province or Colony, to levy any Duty, Tax, or Assessment, or to impose any farther Duty, Tax, or Assessment, except only such Duties as it may be expedient to

continue to levy or to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett produce of the Duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such Province or Colony respectively." Burke characterized the proposition as "full of perplexed and intricate mazes," "harsh," "remote, contingent, full of hazard." The resolution was generally unsatisfactory to the ministerial party, but it was approved in committee by a vote of two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight, and, on the twenty-seventh of February, was agreed to by the house.

On the twenty-second of March, the New England restraining bill being then before the lords, Edmund Burke offered in the commons a set of resolutions in support of which he made

"the sanest and most powerful plea for reasonableness and consideration put forth during the whole period of the struggle between the American colonies and the mother country," a masterpiece of argument and exposition. Lord North's resolution having offered the olive branch, said Burke, the question before the house was as to the kind of concession that ought to be tendered.

There are but three ways to deal with the "fierce spirit of liberty" that characterizes the colonies. You may remove the causes that have produced it; you may prosecute it as criminal; or you may submit to it as a necessary evil. "The Americans will have no interest contrary to the grandeur and glory of England, when they are not oppressed by the weight of it. . . . I confess I feel not the least alarm from the discontents which are to arise from put-

1775
Burke's
Speech on
Conciliation



Edmund Burke

1775 ting people at their ease; nor do I apprehend the destruction of this empire from giving, by an act of free grace and indulgence, to two millions of my fellow-citizens, some share of those rights upon which I have always been taught to value myself. . . . Let the colonies always keep the idea of their civil rights associated with your government,—they will cling and grapple to you and no force under heaven will be of power to tear them from their allegiance. But let it be once understood that your government may be one thing and their privileges another; that these two things may exist without any mutual relation, the cement is gone, the cohesion is loosened, and everything hastens to decay and dissolution."

Olive Branch
and Sword

Burke's first resolution was negatived by a vote of two hundred and seventy to seventy-eight, and the others were similarly disposed of. An increase of two thousand seamen and more than twice as many soldiers, most of them to be used to raise the force at Boston to ten thousand men, had already been authorized. The policy advocated by Wedderburn in the previous year, the olive branch in one hand and the sword in the other, seemed in a fair way to be tested.





C H A P T E R X V

T H E F I R S T M O N T H S O F W A R

GENERAL Gage promptly forwarded to London an account of what had taken place at Lexington and Concord, and the provincial congress sent a statement to Franklin. Captain John Derby of Salem who bore the provincial report reached London eleven days ahead of Captain Brown who bore Gage's dispatches. Thus the first reports published in England were favorable to the Americans and the belief gained currency that the ministry had received news that it did not dare to publish. Franklin received English contributions to the amount of one hundred pounds for the benefit of the widows and orphans of the men who were killed on the nineteenth of April.

*Sending the
News to
London*

In the meantime, John Hancock and Samuel Adams had set out for the second continental congress at Philadelphia, leaving Warren to preside over the provincial congress that was soon to meet at Watertown. A plan for withdrawing the patriot inhabitants of Boston from the town was now revived, and, on the twenty-sixth of April, Warren wrote to Gage asking his consent. Gage acquiesced on condition that all arms be left behind. On the following day, many weapons were surrendered at Faneuil Hall, one for almost every man. The exodus assumed such proportions that the Tories became alarmed and demanded that the people remain as hostages for the safety of the town. Gage withdrew his consent.

*The Exodus
from Boston*

News from Lexington reached New Haven on the

1775
Benedict
Arnold

twentieth. The captain of the governor's guards, a brave and impulsive man, gathered his men on the college green and offered to lead them to Boston. When it was suggested that he would better wait for orders and the selectmen refused to supply ammunition, he threatened to break into the magazine. The ammunition was supplied and the company marched to Cambridge. Such was the historical debut of Benedict Arnold. The provincial congress of Massachusetts made the Connecticut captain a colonel and, on the third of May, directed him to "proceed with all expedition to the western parts of this and the neighboring colonies, where you are directed to enlist" four hundred men for the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

The Green
Mountain
Boys

As already explained, the Vermont country was claimed by both New Hampshire and New York. On an appeal to the crown, New York won a decision favorable to her claims, and, in 1770, Ethan Allen was appointed agent to represent the settlers in the courts at Albany. As a result of consequent disagreements, an armed league for



Autograph of Ethan Allen

mutual protection, known as the Green Mountain Boys, was organized, and so terrorized the

border that the New York officers could not serve writs or evict settlers. Two of the Vermont leaders, Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, were outlawed by New York, a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds being offered by Governor Tryon for the former.

Ticonderoga

Fort Ticonderoga contained a large supply of military stores, but its garrison numbered only about fifty men and its defenses had been weakened by time and neglect. It was well known to New England men, and it was natural that, with the first news of war, they should plan to get possession of it. John Brown of Pittsfield wrote from Montreal to Adams and Warren that "The Fort at Tyconderogo must be seised as soon as possible should hostilities be committed by the King's Troops. The people on N. Hampshire Grants have ingaged to do this

March 29



Business and in my opinion they are the most proper Persons for this Jobb." Early in May, men from Connecticut and western Massachusetts were gathering at Bennington, whence guards were sent to watch the roads leading to the lake and to intercept any carrier of news of the contemplated movement. Spies were also sent to Ticonderoga, one of whom worked his way into the fort and learned of its condition. On his return, orders were hastily given to rendezvous at Castleton where Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys were ready for action.

On the eighth of May, Allen, with one hundred and forty men, set out for the lake opposite the fort. A detachment of thirty men was ready to start for Skenesboro (now Whitehall), capture the royal troops, and drop down the lake with boats enough to carry Allen and his men over to Ticonderoga. Just then Arnold appeared with his commission as colonel and commander-in-chief. He had raised no troops as his commission contemplated, and his pretensions were not well received at Castleton. On the following day, he hastened forward to overtake Allen at the shore of the lake.

The New
England
Advance

May 9

Difficulty in procuring boats caused delay. At day-break on the tenth, Allen and Arnold had only about eighty men on the western shore, but time was precious and Allen gave the order to advance. When Arnold again claimed the command, Allen threatened to put him under guard and the Green Mountain Boys declared that they would abandon the enterprise then and there unless their own colonel held the command. A compromise, with a sort of joint leadership, was effected and the column advanced rapidly to the gate of the fort. The sentry's musket missed fire and the guard retreated into the fort closely followed by the patriots. The garrison was still asleep when, at the door of the commandant's room, Allen thundered his summons to surrender. Captain Delaplace jumped from his bed with the bewildered inquiry, "By what authority?" "In the name of the great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" was

The
Capture of
Ticonderoga

1 7 7 5 Allen's famous answer, at least that is the form in which it has gone down to history. At that moment, the "continental congress" was a somewhat shadowy authority, but Allen's drawn sword more than made amends for any defect in his commission. Without delay, the surprised commandant, still in his night clothes, paraded his men without arms and surrendered. A few hours later, the second continental congress, whose authority Allen had anticipated, met at Philadelphia.

The
Americans
Occupy the
Lake
Champlain
Region

The nearly fifty prisoners taken at Ticonderoga, together with the women and children, were sent to Hartford. About two hundred cannons and large quantities of military supplies fell into the hands of the Americans. Seth Warner, who had brought the rear-guard across the lake, moved upon Crown Point, and, on the twelfth, took the post with its garrison of a sergeant and twelve men, and one hundred and thirteen cannons. Another royal detachment under Major Skene was surprised at Skenesboro and a schooner and several bateaux were taken thence to Ticonderoga. With the aid of the boats, Arnold captured the fort at Saint John, on the Sorel. Fort George, at the head of Lake George, was also taken. Questions as to who planned these various movements have provoked much controversy. Ethan Allen, whom New York had lately outlawed and upon whose head she had set a price, became the hero of the hour and, in July, Arnold, greatly dissatisfied, returned to Cambridge.

General
Putnam

Early in the afternoon of the twentieth of April, a dispatch from the committee of safety, with news of the fight at Concord, was received at Pomfret, Connecticut. Israel Putnam, who had won a reputation for ability and daring in the French and Indian war, left his plough in the furrow, mounted a horse without waiting to put on his uniform, and, at sunrise of the following day, presented himself at Cambridge. Before night, he was sending back from Concord directions about bringing up the Connecticut militia. He was soon recalled to Hartford for the meeting of the general assembly, but a week later returned to Cambridge as a brigadier-general in command

THE CONGRESS OF
MASSACHUSETTS

To

David Porter

WE, reposing especial Trust and Confidence in you,
Do, by these Presents, command you to be *Lieutenant of*
Regiment of Foot *Third of John*
afore said, for the Defence of said Colony.

You are, therefore, carefully and diligently to be in leading, ordering, and exercising the said Soldiers, and to keep them in good Order, and to command them to obey you as their *Commander*, and to follow such Orders and Instructions as shall be given by the General and Commander in Chief of the said Colony, for the Defence of the same, or any other your Duty, in War, in Pursuance of the

By

Samuel Adams the 19th of May 1775
Samuel Adams Secretary P. T.

THE COLONY OF THE SETTS-BAY.

Gentleman — GREETING.

Confidence in your Courage and good Conduct,
and appoint you the said *Quora Pirley*
First Sergeant or the
First Sergeant raised by the Congress

to discharge the Duty of a *Lieutenant*
Company Arms, both inferior Officers
Order and Discipline; and they are hereby
bound, and you are yourself to observe and
shall, from Time to Time, receive from the
forces raised in the Colony aforesaid, for the
inferior Officers, according to military Rules and
reposed in you.

of the Congress.

John Warren President P. T.
1775

of the Connecticut forces. On the eighth of May, there 1775 was a false alarm that the British troops were coming out of Boston. It was thought advisable to make a show of activity and watchfulness, and, on the thirteenth, Putnam marched twenty-two hundred men from Cambridge to Charlestown Ferry and back. The route brought him within range of Gage's cannon, but the provincials were not molested.

The siege of Boston was rapidly becoming an accomplished fact. Earthworks at points of vantage began to wall in the town, and the provincial congress urged Connecticut to send to Cambridge the cannons taken at Lake Champlain. On the twentieth of May, Artemas Ward was commissioned as commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts forces. John Thomas was second in command and Richard Gridley was chief engineer. The extreme left wing of the American army at Chelsea comprised three Massachusetts companies. The New Hampshire men, under John Stark, were upon the Mystic River at Medford and near Charlestown Neck.



Israel Putnam

In Camp
about Boston

Artemas Ward

Autograph of Artemas Ward

At Cambridge were more Massachusetts companies and Putnam with his Connecticut regiment. Some four thousand Massachusetts men under John Thomas, with field-pieces and a few heavy cannons, occupied a position on the Roxbury side of the town, while at Jamaica Plain, a little further on, were Joseph Spencer with a Connecticut regiment and Nathanael Greene with the Rhode Island volunteers. Altogether, some sixteen thousand men crowded the various camps, but the army was little

1775 more than an inchoate mass, loosely organized, poorly equipped, and ill supplied with powder. The authority of Ward was recognized by the contingents from other colonies by courtesy only. For the work in hand, a stronger organization was necessary. Elbridge Gerry had already written, with the approval of Warren, to the Massachusetts delegates in the continental congress, that the Massachusetts leaders would "rejoice to see this way the beloved Colonel Washington."

Howe,
Clinton, and
Burgoyne

The loyalists, meantime, were divided between hope and fear. The large reinforcements reported to be on the way from England were anxiously awaited. On the twenty-fifth of May, the troops and three general officers

arrived. On the departure of the generals from London, an irreverent rhymester had sung:

Behold! the "Cerberus" the
Atlantic plough,
Her precious cargo, Burgoyne,
Clinton, Howe,
Bow! wow! wow!

With the reinforcements, Gage's army numbered about ten thousand men. The committee of safety decided to remove the live stock from the islands in the harbor and Gage undertook to secure the hay on Grape Island, near Weymouth. These foraging expeditions brought on



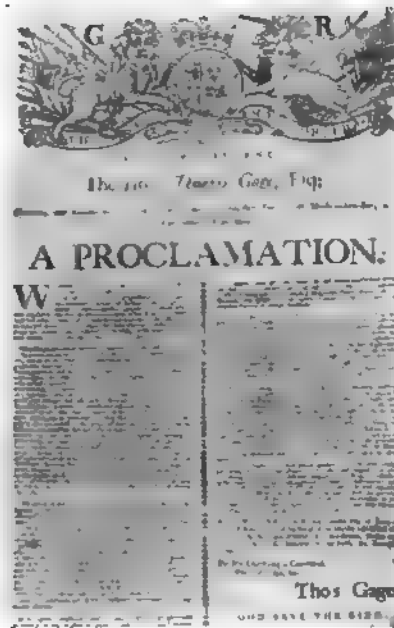
John Burgoyne

lively skirmishes, in one of which the British lost some men, twelve swivels, and a sloop, besides the sheep and cattle that Putnam had set out to get. Chief-justice

Oliver wrote from Boston that "we are daily threatened with an attack by fire-rafts, whale-boats, and what-not." 1775
June 10

- ✓ On the twelfth of June, Gage issued a proclamation warning the rebellious citizens of their peril and offering amnesty to all except Samuel Adams and John Hancock; but he also wrote to the ministry that an attack on the rebels "every day becomes more necessary."

ir
d { Ward was not energetic enough to satisfy the provincial congress and, on the fourteenth of June, the more active Warren was made the second major-general of the Massachusetts forces. Ward and the provincial congress had learned that Gage intended to take possession of Charlestown peninsula and to occupy Dorchester Heights in what is now South Boston. The committee of safety advised the immediate occupation of Bunker Hill, and, at a council of war held at Cambridge on the sixteenth, the plan was agreed to. That evening, Colonel William Prescott and twelve hundred men, including two hundred men from Connecticut under command of Captain Thomas Knowlton of Putnam's regiment, assembled at Cambridge, and, after prayer by the president of Harvard College, set out for Charlestown Neck. By ten o'clock they had reached Bunker Hill. Here Prescott informed his field officers of his orders. After long deliberation it was decided to advance to the lower hill, since known as Breed's Hill, half a mile nearer Boston,



The
Americans
Seize Breed's
Hill

Gage's Amnesty Proclamation, June 12, 1775

1775 and to throw up intrenchments there. Putnam urged that Bunker Hill be fortified also, but his opinion did



Homestead of Artemas Ward, Shrewsbury, Massachusetts

not prevail. Arriving at Breed's Hill, Colonel Richard Gridley marked out the lines of a redoubt and breast-works. The work of intrenchment went on from midnight until daybreak without attracting the attention of the enemy.

Prescott of
Pepperrell

Soon after daybreak, the frigate "Lively" opened fire, and the fire was returned. Gage, awakened from sleep by the cannonading, sent orders to the frigate to cease firing, and, after conference with his officers, resolved to attack the unfinished works without delay. It is said

Autograph of William Prescott

that when Gage saw Prescott walking along the parapet, he asked Willard, one of the councilors, who the man was and whether he would fight.

Willard replied, "That is Colonel Prescott; he is an old soldier and will fight as long as there is a drop of blood in his veins."

The Want
of Support

Prescott's men were tired and hungry after the hard night's work but the relief and refreshments promised did not come. Putnam had gone back to Cambridge

and urged Ward to send reinforcements. Fearing that Gage would make a feint towards Charlestown but deliver his real attack upon Cambridge, Ward sent only a part of Stark's regiment. At ten o'clock, Prescott's call for men and food reached headquarters and Ward then sent the rest of the New Hampshire men. Put-



View of Charlestown from Beacon Hill
(A sketch made by the British Engineer, Montresor, before the battle)

nam returned to Charlestown and soon had men at work fortifying Bunker Hill. In the meantime, floating batteries had moved up-stream with the rising tide and taken positions where they could open on the works from the Charles River and flank the Neck. Prescott, looking towards the Neck for the expected and promised reinforcements, saw only a few wagons and those were bringing beer instead of men. The weary soldiers began to suspect that they had been left to their fate, but they were encouraged by the presence of a few leaders who arrived from Cambridge. James Otis, a mental wreck, was there, and Warren, a major-general who had come to fight under the command of a colonel. Putnam, advanced in years and knowing little of the art of war, rode about in a restless way, encouraging the men and telling the few recruits that arrived where to go.

Knowlton's Connecticut troops, with two guns, were sent to take position on the southern slope of Bunker Hill, behind a low stone wall topped by a two-rail fence and extending towards the Mystic. Along this wall a parallel line of fence was built and the space between was filled with freshly-cut grass. This formed the left of the American line. Between it and the redoubt was an open space where the few field-pieces at hand were placed to

June 17

Knowlton on the Left

1775 strengthen the position as much as possible. When Stark and his New Hampshire troops arrived, they joined Knowlton at the grass breastwork.

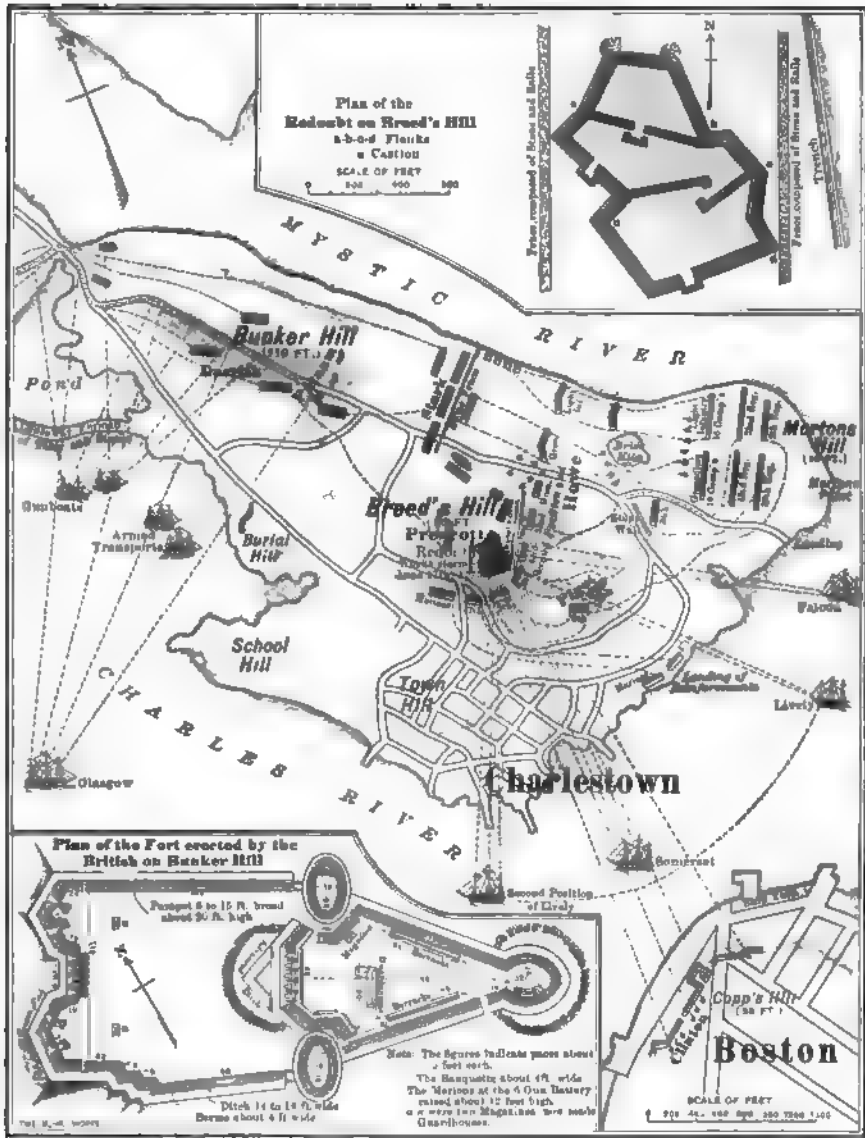


Cartridge-box worn by Abraham
Tuttle of New Haven at the
Battle of Bunker Hill

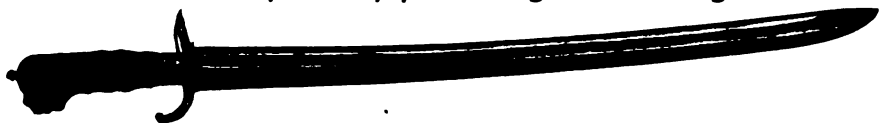
The First
Attack and
Repulse

At a British council of war in Boston, Clinton, cautious even in the face of undisciplined countrymen, urged that troops be landed at Charlestown Neck and the Americans attacked in the rear. Instead, it was decided to attack in front—a piece of bravado that ruined Gage's reputation as a soldier and came near costing the British the loss of their army. By noon, the British troops, under the command of General William Howe, were in motion. The first detachment was landed at Morton's (or Moulton's) Point, where, by three o'clock, Howe had about three thousand men. The British advanced in two columns: one on the right led by Howe in person, towards the rail fence and wall; the other, under General Pigot, towards the redoubt. Howe's artillery soon drove the American field-pieces from their position and the attack centered on the redoubt. There are countless stories of how the American officers cautioned their men to "Fire low," "Aim at the waistbands," etc. John Fiske says: "There is no boy in America who does not believe that Putnam and Prescott bade their men wait till they could see the whites of the eyes of the British." At all events, the Americans reserved their fire until the enemy were close upon them; then the fire came in a deadly blast and the British left retreated in confusion to the boats at the beach. Howe's column, advancing along the Mystic, was fired upon by the field-pieces that had withdrawn to the fence; then Knowlton's men opened upon the British at short range and the repulse was complete.

Meantime, Putnam was bringing up reinforcements



1 7 7 5 from the rear and hurrying them across the Neck which
 Putnam and was swept by a raking fire from the fleet. Among the
 Pomeroy new arrivals was Seth Pomeroy, a veteran of Louisburg
 and nearly seventy years of age. Unwilling to risk his



Israel Putnam's Battle Sword and Sheath



borrowed horse to the fire that swept the Neck, he
 marched across on foot and was saluted by "Old Put"
 with "You here! God! I believe a cannon would wake
 you if you slept in the grave." As Pomeroy took his
 station with the Connecticut troops at the rail fence, in
 the hottest of the battle, he was quickly recognized and
 his name was carried with shouts along the line.

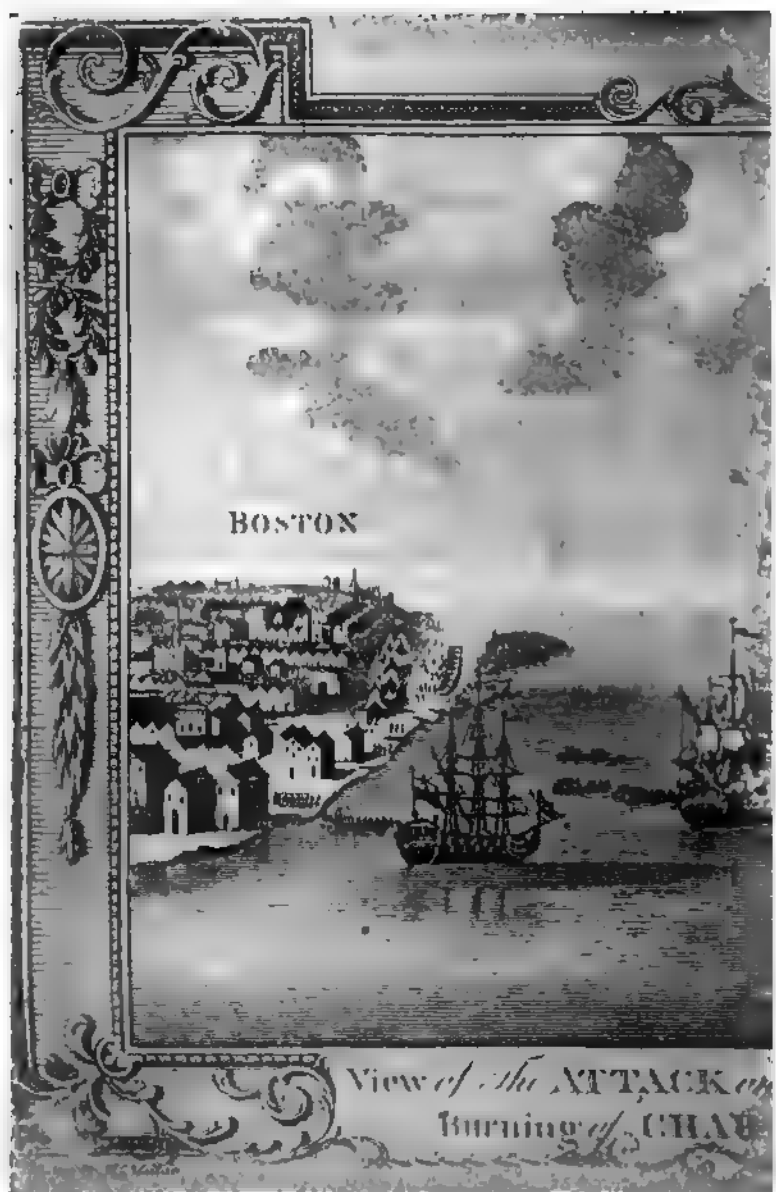
. . . a splendid mark he made ;
 He never flinched a single inch when
 British cannon played,
 But foddered up an old rail-fence with
 Massachusetts hay,
 Stood out the battle at the rack, and
 Stoutly blazed away.

The Second
 Attack and
 Repulse

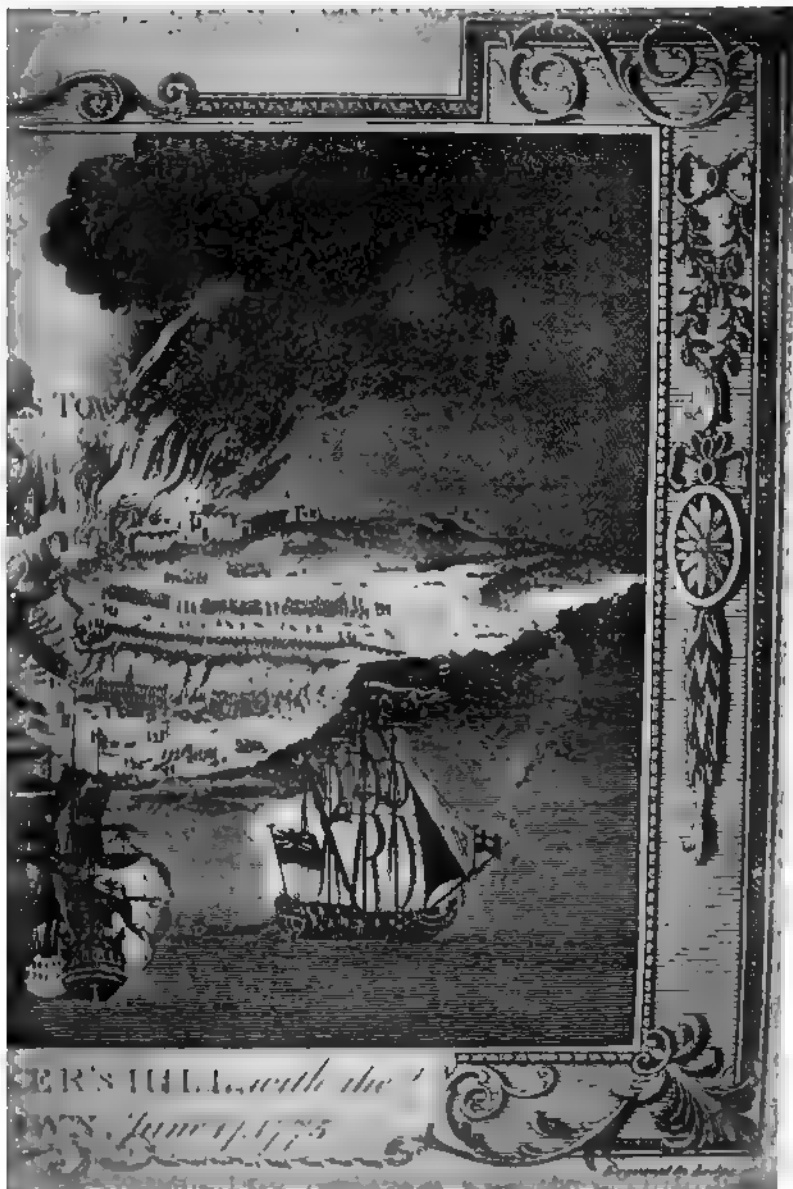
Howe was soon ready for a second attempt. Partly in
 hope of distracting the attention of the Americans and
 partly with a view to covering his own advance, he had
 sent word to Burgoyne to shell Charlestown and that
 town was soon in flames.

The Lord in heaven confound them,
 Rain his fire and brimstone round them,—
 The robbing, murdering red-coats that
 Would burn a peaceful town!

The wind shifted, however, and the smoke did not con-
 ceal the British as had been anticipated. Howe's
 artillery helped him more than in the first assault, though
 it was said that, thanks to the "dotage of an officer of
 high rank who spends all his time with the school-master's
 daughters," he lacked shot of the proper size. Stark



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and Knowlton at the fence and Prescott at the redoubt again restrained their men while Howe and Pigot, leading their divisions as before, advanced up the hill. Again there were deadly volleys, momentary struggles, and retreat along the whole British line. Every officer of Howe's staff was killed or wounded, as was every man in one company of the fifty-second regiment. "They may talk of their Mindens and their Fontenoy's, but there was no such fire there," said Howe.

Clinton, watching the battle from Boston, sent four hundred marines to reinforce Howe and himself followed as a volunteer. On the American side, Ward sent reinforcements from Cambridge, but such was the confusion and delay that few arrived in time to be of service. Prescott's powder was almost gone, and, despairing of relief, he prepared as best he could for the hand-to-hand struggle that was soon to come.

Howe now brought his artillery effectively into play, as he might have done at the outset. A raking fire drove the Americans from their breastwork into the redoubt, against which the British for a third time advanced, the men reserving their fire and relying upon the bayonet. Once more at short range they met the terrible fire that twice had driven them back; but this time, though they wavered, they rallied and pushed on. The first to scale the redoubt were shot down, Major Pitcairn among them, but others followed. Soon the American fire slackened and the British took fresh courage; Prescott's men were out of powder and few of them had bayonets. As the provincials fell back, Pomeroy leaped upon the rampart, waving his gun over his head and shouting, "Don't run, boys, don't run! Club them with your muskets, as I do! No enemy shall ever say he saw the back of Seth Pomeroy." But further defense was hopeless and Prescott, "not too late and not a moment too early," ordered a retreat.

As the mingled mass of friend and foe surged down the rear slope of the hill, Warren was shot through the head. "Better to die honorably in the field," he is

1 7 7 5

Confusion and
DesperationThe British
Carry the
RedoubtThe
Americans
Driven Back

1775 reported to have said, "than ignominiously hang upon the gallows." The British halted to form and fire,



A Woodcut of Joseph Warren from George's Almanack, 1775

while Stark and Knowlton faced them long enough to cover Prescott's retreat and then slowly fell back. Putnam was unable to check either the provincial or the royal troops at Bunker Hill, though he "commanded, pleaded, cursed and swore like a madman." After the war, he made before the church of which he was a member a humble confession of his profanity on this occasion, but at the same time stoutly maintained that "it was almost enough to make an angel swear to see the cowards refuse to secure a victory so

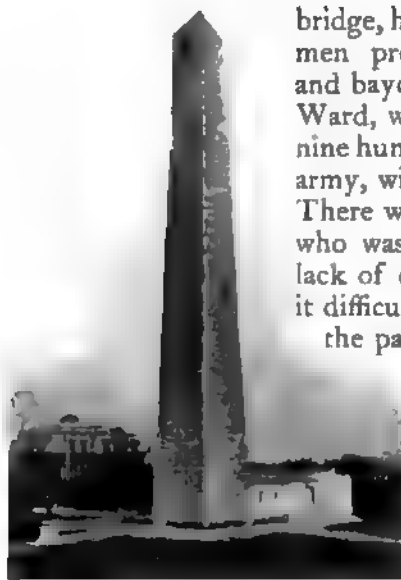
The Losses

✓ The American loss was one hundred and fifty killed, two hundred and seventy wounded, and thirty taken prisoners, a total of four hundred and fifty. The death of Warren was deeply lamented and the burning of Charlestown prostrated one of the most flourishing towns



1775 in New England. The British loss as reported by Gage was two hundred and twenty-four killed and eight hundred and thirty wounded, a total of ten hundred and fifty-four, of whom one hundred and fifty-seven were officers. Putnam grimly declared that he would be willing to sell another hill to King George at the same price. The battle on the Plains of Abraham did not cost the lives of so many officers as did that of Bunker Hill, nor did the British, in the whole course of the Revolutionary war, meet more stubborn resistance or lose relatively so large a number of men. In spite of the courage and steadiness of the British regulars and the retreat of the Americans, the victory at Bunker Hill is not counted among the great triumphs of British arms.

Prescott's
Indignation



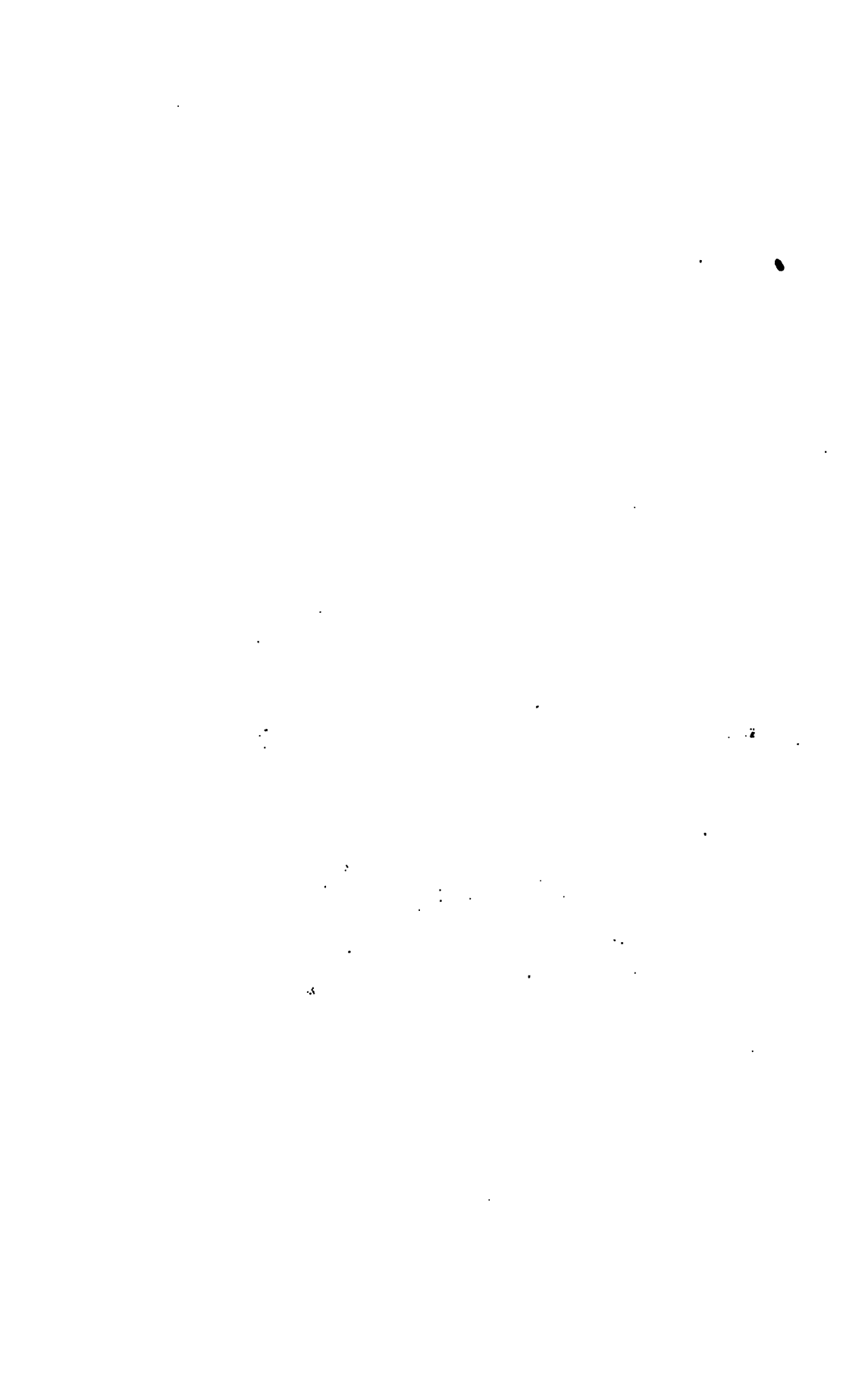
Bunker Hill Monument

Prescott was unwounded but indignant. He knew that he had made a gallant fight and felt that he should have been better supported. On his return to Cambridge, he declared that, with fifteen hundred men properly equipped with ammunition and bayonets, he would retake the hills; but Ward, who before the battle had but sixty-nine hundred pounds of powder for his whole army, wisely declined a second engagement. There was, of course, sharp discussion as to who was responsible for the disaster. The lack of definite military organization makes it difficult to apportion responsibility, while the partisans of Prescott and Putnam have maintained to this day a controversy as to which of the two was in supreme command. The battle of Bunker Hill showed the British that the Americans would fight. "The trials we have had," wrote Gage to Lord Dartmouth, "show the rebels are not the despicable rabble too many have supposed them to be. . . . They intrench, and raise batteries; they have engineers. . . . The conquest of this country is not easy; you



ISRAEL PUTNAM

From original mezzotint engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection)





FROM CANNON'S "HISTORICAL RECORD OF THE TWENTY-THIRD FOOT OR ROYAL WELSH FUSILIERS"

"The Royal Regiment of Welsh Fusiliers has a privileged honor of passing in review, preceded by a goat with gilded horns, and adorned with ringlets of flowers; and although this may not come immediately under the denomination of a reward for merit, yet the corps values itself much on the ancientness of the custom.

"Every 1st of March, being the anniversary of their tutelar saint, David, the officers give a splendid entertainment to all their Welsh brethren, and after the cloth is taken away, a bumper is filled round to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, (whose health is always drunk to first on that day,) the band playing the old tune of 'The noble race of Shenkin,' when a handsome drum-boy, elegantly dressed, mounted on the goat, richly caparisoned for the occasion, is led thrice round the table in procession by the drum-major.

"It happened in 1775, at Boston, that the animal gave such a spring from the floor, that he dropped his rider upon the table, and then bounding over the heads of some officers, he ran to the barracks with all his trappings, to the no small joy of the garrison." — From Grose's *Military Antiquities*.

have to cope with vast numbers. In all their wars 1775 against the French, they never showed so much conduct, attention, and perseverance, as they do now."





C H A P T E R X V I

T H E S E C O N D C O N T I N E N T A L C O N G R E S S — I T S F I R S T S E S S I O N

Taking Sides

BY this time, the feeling that war was being waged, not against Massachusetts alone, but against all the colonies, had gone far to make American union an accomplished fact. The first continental congress was not an organic body with defined and authoritative functions, but its resolutions had been received with respect and there was a general disposition to heed its suggestions and to defer to its leadership. Parties, too, were becoming differentiated. The committees of correspondence and of public safety, with what was left of the old Sons of Liberty, formed a nucleus around which the radical patriots gathered; this body was now growing rapidly. Of course, there was no organization comparable to the great political parties of today. In the era of which we are now speaking, loosely organized committees assumed to act for wholly unorganized bodies of citizens; but their acts were approved and that gave them effectiveness.

The Colonies
Stand
Together

Lord North had intimated to Franklin that, for the sake of peace the ministry might consent to the repeal of the tea duty and the Boston port act, but that the changes made in the Massachusetts charter must remain "as a standing example of the power of Parliament." To this Franklin replied: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety." With the appearance in the com-

mons of the New England restraining bill, Franklin was convinced that reconciliation was impossible; in March, 1775, he sailed for America. The purpose of Lord North's conciliatory resolution, pronounced by Chatham "a puerile mockery," doubtless was to divide the colonies; but, if so, it failed of its purpose. For example, when Governor Penn urged Pennsylvania to separate action, the assembly promptly told him that it would be dishonorable to take any action without the approval of the other colonies, and William Franklin, the royal governor of New Jersey, was informed by the assembly of that colony that they had not the least design of deserting the common cause. Still, if America was united, England was no less so.

The commercial interests of England, threatened with loss of trade, had petitioned against the two restraining acts, but the eyes of the king and his ministers seem to have been shut against the signs of the times. The assembly of Jamaica protested its loyalty, but expressed its amazement at "a plan, almost carried into execution, for reducing the colonies into the most abject state of slavery." The English colonists in Quebec petitioned against the Quebec act as a violation of their rights. John Wilkes, now lord mayor of London as well as member of parliament, presented to the king a strongly worded remonstrance against measures "big with all the consequences which could alarm a free and commercial people" and really intended "to establish arbitrary power over all America," and urged the immediate dismissal of the ministry. The reply from the throne expressed the "utmost astonishment" that any one could thus encourage rebels in America, expressed "entire confidence" in parliament and the ministry, and announced the purpose steadily to pursue "those measures which they have recommended for the support of the constitutional rights of Great Britain, and the protection of the commercial interests" of the kingdom.

In America, the choosing of delegates to the second continental congress was not neglected because of the out-

Public
Opinion in
England

April 10

Choosing
Delegates

1775

1775 break of actual war. In January, Lord Dartmouth had instructed the colonial governors to do their utmost to prevent the election of delegates, but the governors were either powerless or were outwitted by the keen and energetic patriot leaders. The Rhode Island assembly reappointed Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Ward who had represented the colony in the first congress. The assembly of New York having refused to appoint representatives, a provincial convention met and



Watch used by Stephen Hopkins

made the appointments, and the committee of correspondence drafted an "Association for the Defense of Colonial Rights" and called upon the people to sign it. Pennsylvania granted Galloway's request to be excused from further service, added Franklin, who had just arrived from England, to its delegation, and placed him at the head of a new committee of safety. The assemblies of Delaware and Maryland made their selections, while in North Carolina the dele-

gates were chosen by a provincial congress. In New Jersey, the adjournment of the assembly was followed by the organization of a provincial congress and the adoption of an agreement similar to that of New York.

The Second
Continental
Congress

On Wednesday, the tenth of May, 1775, the day that Ethan Allen called at Ticonderoga, the second continental congress met in the state-house at Philadelphia; most of the delegates had assembled in Carpenters' Hall the year before. All the colonies were represented, the delegates from Georgia being the last to arrive. Randolph was again chosen president and Charles Thomson secretary, while the Reverend Mr. Duché once more opened the proceedings with prayer. Randolph was soon called back to Virginia to preside over the house of burgesses of which he was speaker, and John Hancock was elected in his place. There is a story to the effect that Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, a man of gigantic strength who had himself been nominated for president, seized Hancock and carried him bodily to the seat of honor and then,

turning to the congress, said: "Gentlemen, we will show 1 7 7 5
Mother Britain how little we care for her by making a



Pennsylvania State-house

Massachusetts man president, whom she has excluded from pardon by a public proclamation." As in the previous congress, it was decided to do business behind closed doors and to bind the members to secrecy.

On the second day of its session, the congress listened At Work
to a circular letter of the fifth of February from Bollen, Franklin, and Arthur Lee, colonial agents in London, outlining the course of events in England up to that time, and to a letter of the third of May from the Massachusetts provincial congress, informing it that Massachusetts had resolved to raise thirteen thousand six hundred men, that New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut had been asked to raise proportionate numbers, and that one hundred thousand pounds in paper money was to be issued. For these several acts, the approval of the continental congress was asked. Accompanying the Massachusetts letter were depositions tending to show that the British had been the aggressors at Lexington and Concord, and a copy of an address of the provincial congress

1 7 7 5 to the people of Great Britain, dated on the twenty-sixth of April. The people of New York also asked advice as to their course in view of the expected arrival of troops. They were advised to act on the defensive as long as possible, but not to allow the troops to erect fortifications or to cut off communication between the town and the country, and, in case of hostilities or the invasion of private property, to "repel force by force." As measures of precaution, it was further recommended that military stores be removed from the town and that places of retreat be provided for women and children.

The Guiding
Hand

Acting upon specific cases as they arose, congress gradually assumed the direction of colonial resistance. For example, on the seventeenth of May, it voted that exportation to Quebec, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, Georgia, except the single parish that had sent a representative to the congress, and East and West Florida cease immediately, and that no provisions or supplies be furnished to the British fishermen on the coast until further notice. The next day, it recommended that the cannons and stores at Ticonderoga be removed to the south end of Lake George, and that an inventory of them be taken "in order that they may be safely returned when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies, so ardently wished for by the latter, shall render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation." A week later, it decided upon the establishment of a fortified post at Kings Bridge to protect communication with New York, and directed that the militia of New York be organized and held in readiness. As it was "very uncertain" whether the efforts being made to bring about reconciliation would succeed, the provincial congress was urged "to persevere the more vigorously in preparing for their defence." The day that saw the passage of this resolve saw the adoption of another declaring that "these Colonies be immediately put into a state of defence."

May 26

Sundry Details

There were loud complaints of infractions of the "Association" of 1774, as well as of the hard terms

imposed upon violators of that agreement. Congress was 1 7 7 5
 appealed to, but declined to assume general responsibility,
 merely resolving that each colony, through its committee,
 should settle the terms on which an offender should be
 restored to public confidence; Canada was once more
 approached, a letter written by John Jay being adopted
 and circulated in a French translation. The loyalty of
 the people of Nantucket, and especially their willingness
 to refrain from selling supplies to British fishermen, were
 evidently distrusted, for it was resolved that "no pro-
 visions or necessities of any kind" be exported to Nan- May 29
 tucket save from Massachusetts, and that the provincial
 congress see to it that the island be provided "with as
 much provision as shall be necessary for its internal use, and
 no more." The same day a committee, of which Frank-
 lin was chairman, was appointed to consider the establish-
 ment of a postal service. The movement towards union
 received another impulse in the resolve that "no expedi- June 1 ✓
 tion or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any
 Colony or body of Colonists, against or into Canada."

The question of independence could not be kept out Adams and
 of congressional debates or private discussions. John Independence
 Adams wanted the matter settled without delay. He was
 convinced that further petitions and remonstrances were
 useless. He would have had the crown officers seized
 and held as hostages for the safety of the people of Bos-
 ton, state governments set up, and independence declared;
 then he would treat with Great Britain and, if need be,
 form alliances with other powers. He stated his views
 freely in the congress and elsewhere, but the majority of
 the members, notably those from Pennsylvania, were not
 ready to follow him. He, however, did not make the
 mistake of thinking that the majority of the people in
 the colonies felt as he did, and declared that the assertion
 that the people of Massachusetts were seeking independ-
 ence was "as great a slander on the province as ever was
 committed to writing." As late as April, 1776, Samuel
 Adams said, in congress, that "the child Independence is
 now struggling for birth."

1775

The Sovereign
Power

On the second of June, a letter from the Massachusetts provincial congress, then in session at Watertown, was laid before the continental congress. The letter eloquently set forth the condition of that province, in arms against the mother country and with civil government suspended, and earnestly besought the advice of congress "respecting the taking up and exercising the powers of civil government, which we think absolutely necessary for the salvation of our country," and pledged submission to such advice if it was given. This raised the grave question of sovereign powers. The congress took a week to consider it; on the ninth, came the momentous vote that no obedience was due to the act of parliament altering the charter of Massachusetts or to any governor presuming to act under it, that the offices of governor and lieutenant-governor were to be regarded as vacant, that, under the direction of the provincial congress, an assembly ought to be chosen, and that the assembly, with councilors to be chosen by the assembly, should assume the powers of government until such times as a royal governor should be appointed to govern according to the charter.

The
Continental
Army

The work of military preparation demanded prompt attention. The army about Boston was soon adopted as the continental army. Five thousand barrels of flour were directed to be forwarded from New York by way of Providence to Massachusetts, and the New England colonies were called upon for as much powder as they could spare. Efforts were made to collect at convenient points the whole available supply of powder and to increase the total amount. The colonies were earnestly besought to send to New York and Philadelphia for manufacture into gunpowder all the saltpeter and sulphur that could be obtained, and a committee, of which Franklin was a member, was created to devise means of setting up the manufacture of saltpeter. Six companies of expert riflemen were ordered raised immediately in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia, with orders to join the army at Boston. The pay of the officers and

privates was fixed at twenty dollars a month for a captain, thirteen and one-third dollars for a lieutenant, eight dollars for a sergeant, seven and one-third dollars for a corporal, drummer, or trumpeter, six and two-thirds dollars for a private. The men were to furnish their own arms and clothing and were to be enlisted for a year.

Personal ambitions and sectional rivalries first manifested themselves openly in the choice of a commander-in-chief. The southern colonies were jealous of a New England army, under a New England general; on the other hand, John Adams declared that Hancock coveted the high honor of command and that the New England delegates were divided. On Thursday, the fifteenth of June, Adams moved the adoption of the army at Cambridge as a continental army and the appointment of a commander-in-chief. He had, he said, but one person in mind for that important command, "a gentleman from Virginia who was among us and very well known to all of us, a gentleman whose skill and experience as an officer, whose independent fortune, great talents, and excellent universal character, would command the approbation of all America, and unite the cordial exertions of all the colonies better than any other person in the union." Washington, who wore his uniform at the sessions, recognized the allusion to himself and "darted into the library room," while Hancock's face showed "mortification and resentment." The nomination was made by Thomas Johnson of Maryland and seconded by John Adams; the election was unanimous. The next day, Washington accepted the honor and declined to receive any compensation for his services beyond the reimbursement of his expenses. On the twenty-first, he set out on horseback from Philadelphia to take command of the American forces encamped around Boston.

Provision was made for four major-generals, eight brigadier-generals, an adjutant-general, a commissary-general, a quartermaster-general, a paymaster-general, and a chief-engineer. The major-generals chosen were Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel

Washington
is made
Commander-
in-chief

June 16

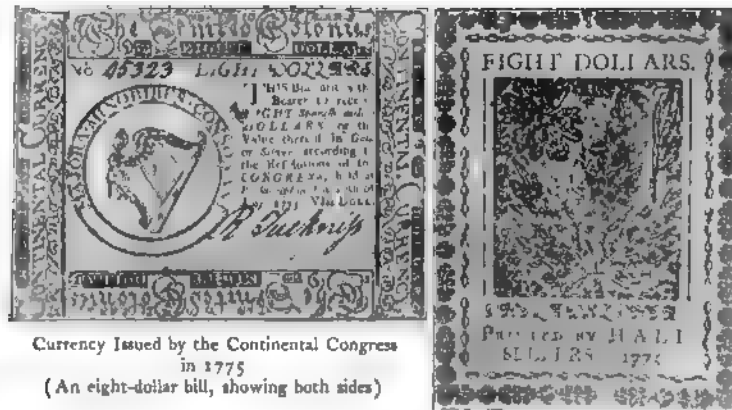
General
Officers

1 7 7 5

1775 Putnam. The brigadiers were Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathanael Greene. The majority of these already held provincial commissions of some sort. Horatio Gates, adjutant-general, was given the rank of a brigadier-general. Gates and Lee had been officers in the British army, and, against strong opposition, Washington urged their appointment on that account. It was agreed that congress should make good to Lee any loss he might sustain by exchanging his British commission for an American one and he subsequently obtained a grant of thirty thousand dollars on that account. Pomeroy had already retired from the service and did not accept his commission.

Finance

Congress had been informed that Massachusetts had arranged to issue notes to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds, and its assistance had been requested "in rendering our measures effectual, by giving our notes a currency through the Continent." On the third of June, a committee of which Washington was chairman was appointed "to bring in an estimate of the money necessary to be raised." At the same time, another committee made up of Pennsylvania delegates, was



Currency Issued by the Continental Congress
in 1775
(An eight-dollar bill, showing both sides)

directed to borrow six thousand pounds for the purchase of powder, "for the repayment of which with interest the

Congress will make full and ample provision." Thus 1 7 7 5
began the national debt. Franklin urged that funds be raised by loans rather than by bills of credit, but his advice was overborne. "Do you think, gentlemen," said one delegate, "that I will consent to load my constituents with taxes when we can send to our printer and get a wagon-load of money, one quire of which will pay for the whole?" On the twenty-second of June, congress directed the issue of two million dollars in bills of credit, pledging "the twelve confederated Colonies" for their redemption. John Adams was chairman of the committee appointed to attend to engraving and printing the bills. A month later, a further issue of one million dollars, in thirty-dollar bills, was ordered. As each bill had to be signed by two members of congress, a large committee was appointed for the purpose.

July 25

This first financial structure was completed by the appointment of two persons as "joint Treasurers of the United Colonies," with their office at Philadelphia, and by the adoption of a scheme for the redemption of the notes. There was to be a treasurer for each colony, and each colony was to provide a sinking fund for its share of the bills, the apportionment to be in accordance with population. A preliminary apportionment was fixed, to serve until an enumeration should be made. The bills were to be redeemed in gold and silver, and, when redeemed, were to be destroyed. As there was little gold or silver in the country and that little did not find its way into the congressional treasury, the country went at once upon a paper basis.

The
Continental
Treasury

July 29

The formal state papers adopted by this congress during its first session rank among the ablest documents in American history and merit careful reading by all who would understand the causes of the Revolution. The weightiest utterance is the great *Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of taking up Arms*, which was adopted on the sixth of July. The original draft, prepared by Jefferson who had taken his seat on the twenty-first of June, the day on which Washington left Philadelphia for

A Forcible
Declaration


1 7 7 5 Boston, was too strong for those who hoped for reconciliation and was revised by John Dickinson. The declaration was a forcible review of the causes of the present unhappy struggle, joined to a reiteration of the position of the colonies and of their deliberate and solemn determination to persevere in the course that had been begun. "The arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than live slaves. . . . We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. . . . In our own native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it; for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before."

The Olive
Branch
Petition

A petition to the king, also drawn by Dickinson, was reported on the nineteenth of June and agreed to on the fifth of July; the engrossed copy was signed by the members present on the eighth. It spoke of the king in warmly affectionate terms and wished for him the lasting glory of saving his country from the impending struggle; it insisted that the colonies had too tender a regard for England to desire anything inconsistent with her dignity or welfare; it assumed that the king was better than the ministers who were misdirecting him. "We therefore beseech your Majesty . . . to direct some mode by which the united applications of your faithful Colonists to the Throne, in pursuance of their common counsels, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation; and that, in the meantime, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your Majesty's subjects; and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of



1 7 7 5 your Majesty's Colonies may be repealed." The petition was unsatisfactory to the members of the congress who thought independence inevitable. John Adams pronounced it a "measure of imbecility" and declared that it "embarrassed every exertion of Congress." Later, when the last hope of reconciliation had faded, loyalists pointed to the petition as a piece of characteristic dissimulation. General Gage spoke of its "fallacy, treachery, and deceit."

Resolute
Preparation

Elaborate addresses to the people of Great Britain, to the assembly of Jamaica, and to the people of Ireland, and a letter to the mayor, aldermen, and livery of London, all of them fervent appeals for sympathy and support, were adopted and sent on their way. A committee for Indian affairs was early appointed, and, on the first of July, it was voted that, if the British instigated any Indian hostilities, an alliance ought to be made with such tribes as will enter into it. In the war that followed, both parties made use of Indians, but the first step was taken by the Americans. An elaborate "talk" to be delivered to the Six Nations was also framed. The Indian country was divided into three departments and a board of commissioners placed in charge of each. Soon after the choice of Washington as commander-in-chief, articles of war were adopted. An army hospital was established, with Doctor Benjamin Church of Boston as director. The details of military preparation fill many pages of the journal. The non-importation agreement was modified to permit vessels bringing in gunpowder, saltpeter, or sulphur, to export colonial products to the value of such articles imported, and the committees of the several provinces were recommended "to inspect the military stores so imported, and to estimate a generous price for the same, according to their goodness."

Franklin
Proposes a
Perpetual
Union

Immediately upon his return from England, Franklin had been chosen a delegate to the congress from Pennsylvania. From the first, he had been a leading member, serving actively on important committees and putting his wide experience of men and affairs at the disposal of

his colleagues. According to John Adams, he had been "composed and grave," and "very reserved." "He does not hesitate at our boldest measures, but rather seems to think us too irresolute and backward." He now proposed a union under the name of "The United Colonies of North America," and, on the twenty-first of July, laid before the congress certain "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union." The government was to be a confederacy, under which each colony was to retain "as much as it may think fit of its own present laws, customs, rights, privileges, and jurisdictions within its own limits." There was to be an annual congress of delegates, meeting in the colonies in rotation, with the power of legislating on war and peace and on certain other matters of common concern. A treasury supplied by proportionate contributions from the colonies was to defray the national charges. An executive council of twelve to serve during the recess of congress was also provided for. One article contemplated "a perpetual alliance offensive and defensive" with the Six Nations. From the standpoint of the constitution of 1787, this plan seems halting and suggests that Franklin's strength lay in diplomacy rather than in the field of constructive statesmanship. Be that as it may, neither congress nor the country was ready for a step that would make reconciliation impossible, and the plan was laid aside without action.

On the twenty-sixth of May, congress received a communication from the New Jersey assembly, transmitting a copy of Lord North's conciliatory resolution, approved by the house of commons on the twenty-seventh of February; it will be remembered that, on the third of March, Lord Dartmouth had sent a circular letter to the colonial governors urging its acceptance. Subsequently, other copies of the resolution were sent up by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Virginia. On the thirtieth of May, a memorandum in behalf of the resolution, prepared at the request of Lord North by Mr. Grey Cooper, under-secretary of the treasury, was also submitted. The resolution lay before the congress without

Congress
Considers the
Conciliatory
Resolution

1 7 7 5 action until the twenty-second of July, by which time the declaration of causes and the petition to the king had been disposed of, a commander-in-chief selected, and military preparation organized. On that day, the resolution was referred to a committee consisting of Franklin, Jefferson, John Adams, and Richard Henry Lee. The Virginia house of burgesses had already, on the tenth, adopted a report on the same resolution. The report of Franklin's committee, drawn by Jefferson, was to the same effect, and was approved by congress on the thirty-first.

Report of the
Committee

The tone of the reply was uncompromising and even haughty. The proposition was declared to be unreasonable and insidious; "unreasonable, because, if we declare we accede to it, we declare, without reservation, we will purchase the favour of Parliament, not knowing at the same time at what price they will please to estimate their favour. It is insidious because individual Colonies, having bid and bidden again till they find the avidity of the seller too great for all their powers to satisfy, are then to return into opposition, divided from their sister Colonies, whom the Minister will have previously detached by a grant of easier terms, or by an artful procrastination of a definitive answer. . . . A proposition to give our money, accompanied with large fleets and armies, seems addressed to our fears rather than to our freedom. . . . If we are to contribute equally with the other parts of the Empire, let us equally with them enjoy free commerce with the whole world. . . . We conceive that the British Parliament has no right to intermeddle with our provisions for the support of civil Government or administration of justice. . . . We do not mean that our people shall be burdened with oppressive taxes, to provide sinecures for the idle or the wicked, under color of providing for a civil list. While Parliament pursue their plan of civil Government within their own jurisdiction, we also hope to pursue ours without molestation."

A Recess

With this bold assertion of contempt for Lord North's proposal and of a fixed purpose to have nothing to do

with it, the congress, on the first day of August, took a recess until the fifth of September. The session had been a laborious and memorable one. The scattered and unorganized resistance of the colonies had been given form and direction. Although elementary and partial, a central government had been established. The colonies, dependencies of Great Britain, had by a common impulse turned to the congress for advice, and, in the matter of the pending dispute with the mother country, the congress had assumed to speak for the colonies. By sending Lord North's resolution to the congress instead of acting upon it itself, the New Jersey assembly set a precedent that the other colonies were not slow to follow. Unless something unforeseen happened, parliament and the king must deal, not with separate provinces, but with a congress of the united colonies.

The petition, signed by the members of the congress on the eighth of July, was given to Richard Penn, one of the proprietaries of Pennsylvania and therefore bound by interest to loyalty, to be laid before the king. Penn at once set sail and was in London by the middle of August. Parliament had been prorogued on the twenty-sixth

Petition and
Proclamation



Autograph of Richard Penn

of May. Undeterred by the reception of their former remonstrance, the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London had again addressed the throne, praying that the use of force against the colonies might be suspended. To them the king replied that "while the constitutional authority of this kingdom is openly resisted . . . I owe it to the rest of my people . . . to continue to enforce those measures by which alone their rights and interests can be asserted and maintained." The news of the battle at Bunker Hill and of the proceedings of the congress at Philadelphia fixed the determination of the king; and, on the twenty-third of August, the day on which the petition was to have been delivered to Lord

July 14

1775
May 10 to Aug. 1

1 7 7 5 Dartmouth, a royal proclamation was issued declaring the colonies to be in "open and avowed rebellion," and calling upon all officers and loyal subjects to use every effort to suppress the outbreak and "to bring to condign punishment the authors, perpetrators, and abettors of such traitorous designs." On the twenty-ninth, the proclamation was publicly read in the palace yard, Westminster, at Temple Bar, and at the Royal Exchange. At the latter place, which was under the immediate jurisdiction of the lord mayor, the use of horses for the officers, usual on such occasions, was refused, the mace was not suffered to be carried, and hisses followed the reading. Notwithstanding the proclamation, the petition

September 1 was presented to Lord Dartmouth but the colonial representatives were refused an audience with the king and were finally informed that the petition would not be considered and that no answer would be given.

King
versus
Congress

The proclamation was the natural outcome of the policy that the king and his ministers had been pursuing and of the advice to which, from the first, they had listened. General Haldimand, fresh from America, had reported that "nothing but force could bring the colonies to reason," and the king was convinced that it would be better "totally to abandon" the colonies than "to admit a single shadow" of their claims. Instructions sent to General Howe declared that there was "no room left for any other consideration but that of proceeding against the twelve associated colonies in all respects with the utmost rigor, as the open and avowed enemies of the state." As for the continental congress, the "olive branch" petition was its last offer of conciliation. Franklin, in a letter subsequently read in the house of commons, stated the case concisely when he said: "If you flatter yourselves with beating us into submission, you know neither the people nor the Country. The Congress . . . will wait the result of their *last* Petition."

The Effect
of the
Proclamation

Frothingham tells us that what royal instructions were to the organization of the popular party, what the tea act was to American union, what the Massachusetts govern-

ment act was to association, the proclamation was to revolution. "Then the inspiring sentiment of union became identified with the still more inspiring sentiment of nationality. Then the popular leaders recognized the mission of that generation to found a republic. The thought lifted them up to the heights of their cause, strengthening their convictions of its justice, deepening the faith that they were co-workers with Providence, and investing their action with the highest moral dignity." George III. meant, perhaps, only to be stern, but he "unwittingly became father of a country that disclaimed him. He deserves to be commemorated in statue, portrait, and history for his unintended yet genuine pater-nity." In private conversation, Samuel Adams said that, if the second petition to the king were neglected or rejected, he should be in favor of fitting out privateers and taking British ships anywhere. James Warren more accurately reflected public sentiment when he wrote to Samuel Adams in Philadelphia: "The king's silly proclamation will put an end to petitioning; movements worthy your august body are expected—a declaration of independence and treaties with foreign powers." Abigail Adams wrote to her husband, John: "I could not join to-day in the petitions of our worthy pastor for a reconciliation between our no longer parent state, but tyrant state, and these colonies. Let us separate."

1 7 7 5
✓

September 24

November 12

Yet, in spite of such individual utterances and of armed rebellion actually existing, there was great unwillingness to break away from the empire. The professions of the patriots that they were seeking only redress of grievances were as sincere as they were profuse. When at Runnymede the barons wrested magna charta from King John, they meant not to renounce their allegiance. "So the popular leaders, in their attitude of armed resistance, were loyal to what they conceived to be essential to American liberty. They were asserting the majesty of constitutional law against those who would have destroyed it, and thus were more loyal to the constitution than was George III."

Still Seeking
Redress—Not
Separation



C H A P T E R X V I I

B E L E A G U E R E D B O S T O N

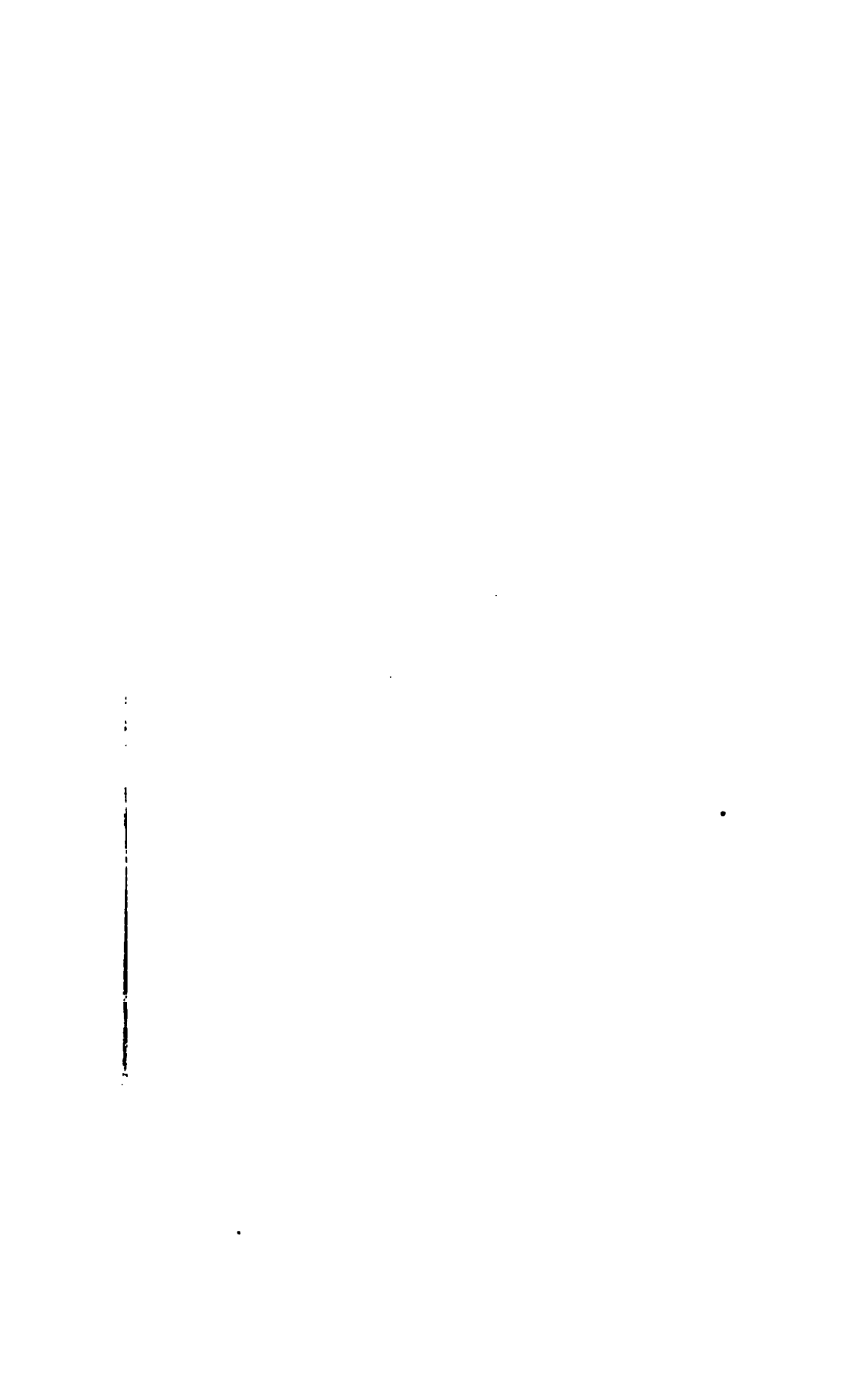
After the
Battle

BY sundown of Saturday, the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, the provincial troops had been withdrawn, but the British cannonade continued until the afternoon of Sunday. General Gage issued a proclamation calling upon the inhabitants to surrender their arms and General Howe fortified Bunker Hill. Meantime, the Americans were not idle. Nearly four thousand men occupied the intrenchments that Putnam planted on Prospect Hill, New Hampshire troops fortified and garrisoned Winter Hill, and a line of earthworks was completed from Cambridge to the Mystic. Similar defenses were planted on the hills of Roxbury and a few heavy cannons were placed. Every day brought reinforcements; among the arrivals was a company of Stockbridge Indians.

Good Lord,
Good Devil

June 25,
1775

Accompanied by Gates and Lee, Washington set out for Boston. A few hours after leaving Philadelphia, he received the news of the battle of Bunker Hill and rejoiced at the stand made by the men whom he was to command. On Sunday, he arrived at New York where he received an address and other courtesies from the authorities. A few hours later, the honors were repeated for Tryon, the royal governor of the province, as he landed on his return from a visit to England, a prudent performance that has not escaped notice. The province, indeed, was torn by conflicting interests and it was known that "some violent wrenching would be necessary to



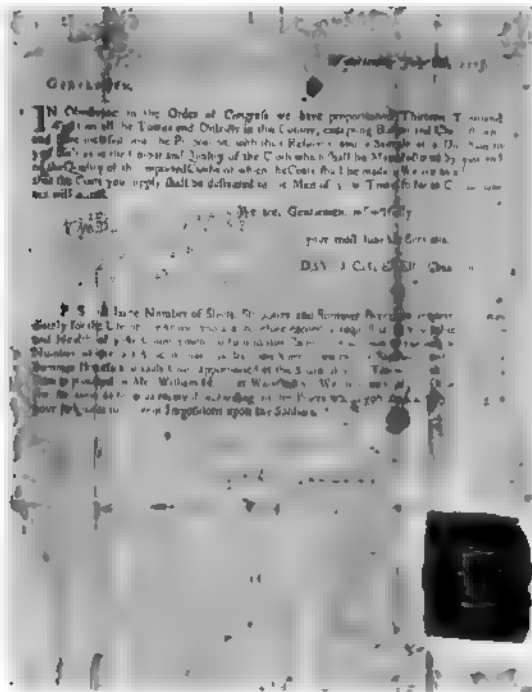
unloose the grasp which the loyalists had upon it." Sir William Johnson, the widely influential superintendent of Indian affairs, had died in July, 1774, but Guy Johnson, his nephew and successor, was as staunch a loyalist as the uncle had been. 1 7 7 5

Washington instructed General Schuyler, who was in command of what was called the northern department, to keep an eye on Tryon and Johnson; on the twenty-sixth, he set out for Cambridge. At the direction of the Massachusetts provincial congress, a committee met him at Springfield and escorted him to headquarters. He received a congratulatory address at Watertown, whence he proceeded to the house of Samuel Langdon, an ardent patriot who had been recently elected president of Harvard College. The finest house in Cambridge, later the home of Longfellow, had been abandoned by its Tory owner and was placed at the disposal of the commander-in-chief. On the third of July, under an elm that is still standing, Washington took command of the American army of fifteen thousand men. Washington Takes Command July 2

At the time of Washington's arrival at Cambridge, the continental congress that had recently adopted the army had no authority except such as rested on the acquiescence of the people. Only two of the colonies had preserved their charter governments; in the others, nothing better than provisional administrations were in operation. Even the provincial congress of Massachusetts had uncertain powers and New Hampshire troops were in camp near Boston in spite of Sir John Wentworth, the royal governor. From this "administrative chaos" Massachusetts was the first to emerge. In July, she accepted, in a spirit of submission, the advice for which her provincial congress had, in June, appealed to the continental congress, namely to reorganize her government according to her irrevocable constitution "until a governor of His Majesty's appointment will consent to govern the colony according to its charter." In familiar fashion, her people gathered in town-meetings and elected members of a representative assembly which, in turn, The Resumption of the Massachusetts Charter July

1775

Organizing
the Army

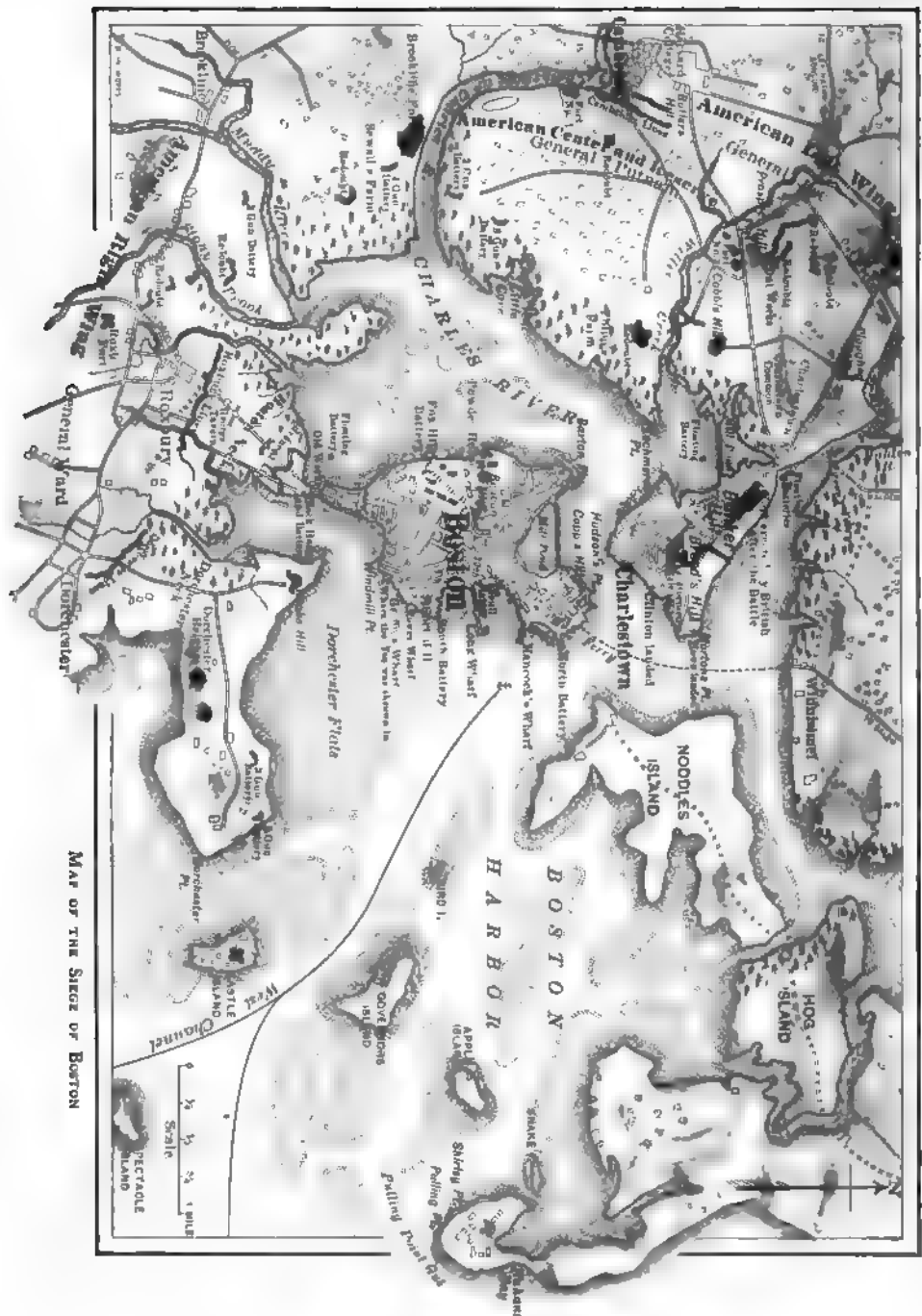


Order for Coats, with Sample of Cloth

The independent spirit of New England farmers was not favorable to military subordination and discipline was conspicuous by its absence. Washington held his first council of war on the ninth of July, and, on the following day, wrote his first letter to congress describing conditions about Boston. The council had estimated the number of British soldiers, sailors, and marines at Boston at eleven thousand five hundred, and the number needed to defend the American lines at twenty-two thousand. The lines extended from Charlestown Neck on the left to Boston Neck on the right, and were cut by the Charles River across which there was but a single bridge. An attack upon either end of the line might overwhelm the ill-organized and poorly equipped army of patriots, although the minutemen of the neighboring towns were a reserve to be reckoned with. But

chose a council of twenty-eight members to sit as the upper house in the new general court. As president of the council, James Bowdoin became the chief executive.

Washington promptly set to work to organize the army, rectify the lines, and collect powder, provisions, and supplies.



1775 the British loss at Bunker Hill and the unexpected resistance of the Americans made the enemy cautious and the dreaded movement from Boston was not attempted.

In Boston
July 16

The condition of the inhabitants of Boston was acute. "Their beef is all spent," wrote Mrs. Adams, "their malt and cider all gone. All the fresh provisions they can procure, they are obliged to give to the sick and wounded. . . . No man dared now to be seen talking to his friend in the street. They were obliged to be within, every evening, at ten o'clock, according to martial law; nor could any inhabitant walk any street in town after that time, without a pass from Gage. He has ordered all the molasses to be distilled up into rum for the soldiers." So great were the difficulties of subsistence that eventually General Gage had to consent to the departure of many of the inhabitants.



Morgan's Virginia Rifleman

Meantime, the continental army was growing in size and efficiency. In the first six weeks of Washington's command, there was an increase of nearly twenty-four hundred. Among the recruits were Captain Daniel Morgan's riflemen from Virginia. If the discipline of the New England troops had been a disappointment to Washington, the appearance of Morgan's men was not less so to General Thomas who thought and said that "the army would be as well off without them." The fringed hunting-shirts of the Virginians provoked the mirth of the New Englanders, and, on one occasion, the men came to blows. Hearing of the disturbance, Washington mounted his horse, rode post-haste to the scene of disturbance, "threw the bridle of his horse into his servant's hands, and, rushing into the thickest

of the fight, seized two tall, brawny riflemen by the throat," and, in rough-and-ready fashion, put an end to the fighting. Notwithstanding their uncouth appearance, Morgan's men were wonderful sharpshooters and soon won the respect of both enemies and friends.

In all the thirteen colonies there was hardly enough powder for one general engagement, and even the materials for its manufacture could be had only in small quantities. Washington tried to keep the alarming truth from the public and from even his brigade commanders. So little did congress understand the situation that, while Washington hardly dared to fire a salute because it would waste his powder, Richard Henry Lee was urging him from Philadelphia to plant batteries at the entrance of Boston harbor and to keep the enemy's vessels from going in and out.

At the same time, Gage was doing the best he could



Wax Impression of Washington's Seal

The Americans are Short of Powder

PROSPECT HILL	BUNKER HILL
I. Seven Dollars a Month.	I. Three Pence a Day.
II. Fresh Provisions, and 10 Flints.	II. Rotten Salt Pork.
III. Health.	III. The Scurvy.
IV. Freedom, Ease, Affection and a good Fire.	IV. Hunger, Rags and Want.

Handbill printed for Distribution among the Royal Troops to induce Desertion

The British are Short of Rations

to keep his men from deserting. Reinforcements did not make good the loss by battle and disease. Food was scarce, although Washington complained that vessels laden with provisions cleared from New York for the West Indies and made port at Boston. Meat was an expensive luxury, and a camp-song of the day ran:

A Yankee Song.

FATHER and I went down to camp
Along with Captain Goodin,
And there we saw the queer and bizz
As thick as lally pudding.

And there we saw a thousand men,
As rich as King David,
And what they wasted every day,
I wish it could be saved.

The 'taters they eat every day,
Would keep a house a winter,
They have as much that I'll be bound,
They eat it when they're a mind to.

And there we see a swamping gun,
Big as a log of Maple,
Upon a deuced little cart,
A load for Father's cattle.

And every time they shoot it off,
It takes a horn of powder,
And makes a noise like Father's gun,
Only a nation louder.

I went as high to see myself,
As Siah's underpinning,
And Father went as high again,
I thought the dace was in him.

Cousin Simon grew so bold
I thought he would have cock't it,
It fear'd me so, I shriek'd it off,
And hid by Father's pocket.

And Captain Dyer had a gun,
He kind of chapt his hand on't,
And stuck a crooked stabbing iron
Upon the hilt and on't.

And there I see a punk'n shell
as big as mother's balon,
And every time I try touch'd it off
They scamper'd like the nation.

I see a little barrel too,
the heads were made of leather,
They knock'd upon with little clubs,
and cal'd the folks together.

And there was Captain Washington,
and General Lee about him,
They say he's grown so tartar proud
He will not go with out them.

He got him on his meeting clothes,
Upon a slapping stallion,
He set the world along in rows,
In hundreds and in millions.

The flaming ribbons in his hat
they look'd so tearing fine ah,
I wanted pockily to get
to give to my Jemimah.

I see another kind of men
a digging graves, they told me,
So tarnal long, so tarnal deep,
they tended they should hold me.

It fear'd me so I hook'd it off,
nor kept as I remember,
Not turn'd about till I got home
lock'd up in mother's chamber.

Printed and Sold at the Bible and Harp.

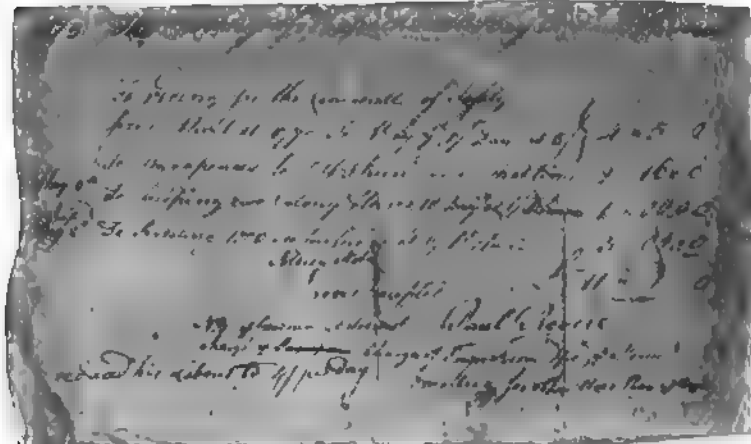
And what have you got now with all your designing,
But a town without victuals to sit down and dine in;
And to look on the ground like a parcel of noodles,
And sing how the Yankees have beaten the Doodles?

1775

In July, there was some correspondence between Burgoyne and Lee, but Lee sent Burgoyne's letter to the provincial congress and declined the invitation to a conference at "The George" inn on Boston Neck. In August, letters passed between Washington and Gage regarding the treatment of prisoners. Burgoyne was chafing under Gage's inactivity, describing the latter as "amiable for his virtues but not equal to the situation" and complaining to the ministry of his "being invested on one side and asleep on the other."

In October, the accidental discovery of a cipher letter written by Doctor Benjamin Church, director of the hospital service, led to his arrest. On the twenty-seventh, he was examined before the Massachusetts general court of which he was a member. He denied any treasonable conduct and "made the most solemn appeal to heaven that the letter was written with the design of procuring

Treasonable
Correspondence



Paul Revere's Bill for Services to Massachusetts from April 21 to May 7, 1775

some important intelligence," but the court voted him guilty and expelled him from his seat. In November, the continental congress, to which the case was referred,

November 2

1 7 7 5 ordered that he "be close confined in some secure gaol in the colony of Connecticut, without the use of pen, ink, and paper." In the following spring, he was released and allowed to sail for the West Indies; the ship was never heard of again. His successor as head of the hospital service was Doctor John Morgan of Philadelphia.

The
Lexington of
the Seas

June 12

Early in May, the British war-ship "Falcon" captured two provincial sloops, but the people at Buzzards Bay fitted out an expedition and retook both vessels with the fifteen men on board. In June, the British armed cutter "Margaretta," Lieutenant Moore, was sent to Machias, Maine, to secure lumber needed for barracks for the troops at Boston. There was delay until about forty men, under the lead of Jeremiah O'Brien, seized a sloop with the purpose of capturing the cutter. Their equipment of warfare seems to have been limited to twenty guns, many of them mere fowling-pieces, and "thirteen pitchforks, a few scythes, and ten or twelve axes." In maneuvering to avoid a collision, the "Margaretta" lost her boom and gaff. Moore then ran his vessel into a bay and, "taking a spar and all the provisions, together with Robert Avery of Norwich, Connecticut, out of a craft he met coming in from the Bay of Fundy, repaired his injury." As the Americans were gaining upon him, Moore opened fire and did some damage. But "the two crafts quickly came together when a sharp fire of small arms was opened. Moore made a gallant defense, . . . until he was shot through the breast with a brace of musket balls. The unfortunate Mr. Avery was also killed." Then the Americans boarded the cutter and obtained possession of her, the action having lasted "for near the space of an hour." The loss on the "Margaretta" was four killed and about ten wounded; the American loss was one killed and six wounded. The "Margaretta" was brought into port and the Machias committee of safety wrote: "We purpose to convey the prisoners to Pownalborough Gaol as soon as possible."

As a matter of fact, war had been begun on the sea as

well as on the land, and some of the seaboard colonies fitted out cruisers at their own expense, authorized privateers, and established prize-courts. Captain Jeremiah O'Brien, with the transferred armament of the "Margaretta," was soon busily engaged, under a commission from the provincial congress of Massachusetts, in cutting off ships that were carrying supplies for the British troops in Boston. Without waiting for the continental congress to take its first official step toward the formation of a continental navy, Washington issued commissions to the commanders of several small vessels and instructed them to cruise in or near Massachusetts Bay and, if possible, to intercept incoming British store-ships. Six such vessels, the "Hancock," the "Lee," the "Franklin," the "Harrison," the "Lynch," and the "Warren" were soon in active service, the first to sail with authority to cruise in behalf of the united colonies. In November, the "Lee" captured the brigantine "Nancy" just from London with an acceptable supply of military stores, among which were invoiced two thousand muskets, one hundred and five thousand flints, three thousand round shot for 12-pounders, four thousand round shot for 6-pounders, thirty-one tons of musket shot, and sixty reams of cartridge paper. In the same month, Peter Oliver wrote from Boston: "The pirates, or as the rebels term them, the privateers, have taken a Cork vessel, Captain Robbins of this town, with provisions, and carried her into Marblehead; and a number of wood vessels from the eastward are carried into the worthless town of Plymouth." The naval situation, however, was not satisfactory to either side. Washington wrote from Cambridge that "our privateersmen go on at the old rate,—mutinying if they cannot do as they please;" while Oliver wrote from Boston that "we have eight or ten pirate vessels out between the capes; and yet our men-of-war are chiefly in the harbor."

1 7 7 5
Washington's
Flotilla

As the summer wore away, the spirits of the British in Boston rose appreciably; food was less scarce, and plans were made for quartering troops in private houses and for

Gage
Recalled

1 7 7 5 weekly plays in Faneuil Hall. In September, Gage received his recall. His irritating and inefficient handling of the situation in general, and his disastrous performance at Bunker Hill in particular, had lost him the confidence of the king. Although the recall was kindly worded and set forth that the ministry desired him near at hand for counsel, he was really recalled in disgrace; no other command was ever offered him. On the tenth of October, he issued his last order and turned over his command to Howe, a much abler officer. Could Howe have had his way, he would have evacuated Boston and chosen a better base of operations, but he was compelled to stay and fight a losing battle.

Falmouth
is Burned

October 17

About this time, Admiral Graves sent Captain Mowatt with a small fleet to destroy Cape Ann (Gloucester) and Falmouth (Portland). Mowatt, who had been seized at Falmouth by the provincial troops soon after the battle of Lexington, had not forgotten his treatment and now wreaked his vengeance on the town. When the people refused to give up their arms and ammunition, Mowatt burned a hundred and fifty houses, including all the churches and public buildings. Howe threw the responsibility on the admiral; the English historian Mahon calls it "a wanton and cruel deed." Hitherto there had been in the minds of many a lingering idea that Boston only was to be punished and that the war would be confined to Massachusetts Bay. The Falmouth incident went far to destroy that illusion; the destruction of the defenseless town showed that war was to be waged without mercy and that America, not Boston, was to be subdued.

Howe in
Command

Howe's activity was not much greater than that of Gage, perhaps because he agreed with his predecessor that Boston was a "disadvantageous place for all operations." Howe felt that New York would make a better base for military operations. There, he said, "the foundations of the war should be laid" by gathering, under the protection of fortifications, the main body of troops with ample magazines and stores. As he had not

sufficient transportation, he wrote to Dartmouth in November that he must stay where he was for the winter; as Castle William was of no use to him, he had mined the fort so that it might be destroyed when Boston was evacuated. The fort at Bunker Hill, commanded by Clinton, was pushed toward completion and the fortification of Boston Neck was continued. With these exceptions, the British remained inactive within their lines. Their fleet was of little use save to protect the town from attack by sea, and the American privateers continued to intercept supplies sent from England and Ireland for the British army.

Winter was coming on, fuel was scarce, and barracks were difficult to find. Even the churches were invaded; the West Church was taken for barracks, the Old South turned into a riding-school, and the Old North plundered for fuel. At the end of October, Howe issued proclamations threatening with death and forfeiture of goods any who should leave the town without written permission, forbidding any one from carrying away any more than five pounds in specie, and organizing loyalist battalions "to preserve order and good government." Ruggles, now an open and avowed loyalist, was put in command of this home-guard. Before winter set in, Burgoyne returned to England. Reinforcements were expected from Ireland, but Howe urged the ministry to send Hessian mercenaries instead of "Irish Roman Catholics, sure to desert if put to hard work, and, from their ignorance of arms, not entitled to the smallest confidence as soldiers."

Preparations
for Winter

On the southern New England coast there were more signs of activity. The British frigate "Rose" and other vessels were particularly annoying. Newport was forced to supply the ships with fresh provisions, Bristol was bombarded, troops were landed, houses were burned, and the people plundered. Governor Cooke of Rhode Island ordered out the minutemen and called on Washington for help. The expiration of the term of enlistment of the Connecticut troops was threatening to reduce

Lee at
Newport

1 7 7 5 the American army, but Washington sent General Lee with eight hundred men to Newport. Lee gave protection to the patriots in that region and made the Tories swear, by "the tremendous and Almighty God," that they would "not assist the wicked instruments of ministerial tyranny and villany, commonly called the king's troops." Washington sent a copy of the oath to Hancock as a sample of Lee's "abilities in that way," and, on the fifteenth of November, suggested to Governor Trumbull of Connecticut that it would be "prudent to seize on those Tories who have been, are, and that we know will be active against us."

The New
Establishment

Even at that early day there were editors and statesmen of the "On to Richmond" order, and even the continental congress, again in session at Philadelphia, was urging an attack on Boston "to break up the nest there." On the eighteenth of October, a council of the general officers decided that such an attack was impracticable. Few of the soldiers had enlisted for longer than the current year and "new enlistments halted upon the expiration of the old." A congressional committee came from Philadelphia to Cambridge and had an opportunity to learn something of the perplexities that environed the commanding general. The attempt to create a continental army in which colonial lines should not be drawn proved extremely difficult, and the abolition of the old colonial systems of organization, with regiments large and small and officers with and without experience, gave rise to no end of trouble and delay. Still, an army was disbanded and another was recruited in the face of an enemy of equal or superior numbers—the greatest success of that whole winter. The men enlisted slowly on the "new establishment," in most cases, for the war. As far as possible, unsatisfactory officers of the lower grades were dropped. Some of the Connecticut and Rhode Island troops refused to reenlist, but fresh supplies from Massachusetts and New Hampshire made good the loss. An idea of what went on may be gathered from an entry in the diary of Nathan Hale: "Promised the men, if

they would tarry another month, they should have my wages for that time." Having given his own pay to his men, the Connecticut schoolmaster, not yet of age, borrowed from Captain Leavenworth enough money to take him home, giving in return an order for his pay until January.



Nathan Hale Schoolhouse

Before the end of January, the boy captain reported at the headquarters of General Ward, at Roxbury, with recruits who had agreed to serve to the end of the war.

Early in 1775, Richard Gridley, who was chief of artillery under Pepperrell at Louisburg in 1745, had been appointed by the Massachusetts provincial congress as

Henry Knox

chief engineer in the army then being organized. On the sixteenth of June, he had laid out the lines of the redoubt and breastworks on Breed's Hill. On the twentieth of September, he had been commissioned to take command of the artillery of the continental army. But



Nathan Hale's Powder-horn

he now was getting old and Washington wrote to the president of congress: "The council of officers are unanimously of opinion that the command of the artillery should no longer continue in Colonel Gridley; and knowing of no person better qualified to supply his place, or whose appointment will give more general satisfaction, I have taken the liberty of recommending Henry

November 8

1775 Knox, Esq., to the consideration of Congress." Knox was a young Boston bookseller who, in early life, had



John Hancock's Money Trunk

joined a volunteer artillery organization, and had made a careful study of military science. In accordance with the recommendation of the commander-in-chief, con-

gress commissioned Knox. Thus "the Boston bookseller suddenly became, not only a colonel, but the head of an arm of the service requiring the most thorough and practical knowledge of military science." He justified the wisdom of Washington's choice; during the war, he was one of his general's constant companions; from this period, the two were lifelong, affectionate friends.

Congress
Authorizes the
Destruction
of Boston

The siege continued throughout the winter, though without active hostilities on either side. Many of Washington's soldiers were given furloughs that they might make provision for their families. On the whole, while the new year showed a decline in numbers, it found the American army with improved organization and equipment. Howe continued to be apprehensive. When the "Lee" captured the "Nancy," Howe wrote to Dartmouth that "the circumstance is unfortunate, as it puts in the enemy's hands the means of setting the town on fire." In fact, the patriots had considered the destruction of the beleaguered town and the continental congress had authorized an attack, "notwithstanding the town and property in it may be destroyed." Hancock wrote to Washington: "You will notice the resolution relative to an attack on Boston. This passed after a most serious debate in a committee of the whole house, and the execution was referred to you. May God crown your attempt with success! I most heartily wish it, though individually, I may be the greatest sufferer." Some time pre-

December 22

viously, John Adams had written to Mrs. Mercy Warren that "Mrs. Washington was going to Cambridge, and he hoped she might prove to have ambition enough for her husband's glory to give occasion to the Lord to have mercy on the souls of Howe and Burgoyne!" As the year closed, Admiral Graves was relieved by Admiral Shulldham. Earl Percy wrote from Boston: "We wanted a more active man than the last, for really the service suffered materially during his stay."

On the first day of the memorable new year, the union flag of thirteen stripes of alternate red and white with the united crosses of Saint George and Saint Andrew was unfurled in the camp of the newly created continental army, "in compliment to the United Colonies." Hitherto, the British standard had been adapted for use by inscribing thereon "Liberty and Union" or some other appropriate legend, or the troops had marched under their colony flags; the pine-tree flag of Massachusetts had been prominent on the floating batteries and on some of the colonial vessels. On the same day, copies of the king's speech opening parliament were received from General Howe. "He breathes revenge, and threatens us with destruction," wrote General Greene. In another letter, Greene urged "a declaration of independence" and called "upon the world and the great God who governs it, to witness the necessity, propriety, and rectitude thereof." "Such was American resolution when it was proclaimed that the Cossack and the Hessian were to be hired to crush American liberty."

New Year's
Day, '76

January 4

As early as June, 1775, and at the request of the continental congress, General Wooster had led Connecticut troops to the vicinity of New York to resist any attempt to land troops from British ships if such an attempt should be made. Early in January, 1776, Washington learned that Clinton was about to sail from Boston on a southern expedition—perhaps against New York which he already had made up his mind to occupy. Lee was sent into Connecticut to raise troops for the occupation of that city. About this time, Knowlton, sent on a raid

From Serious
to Gay

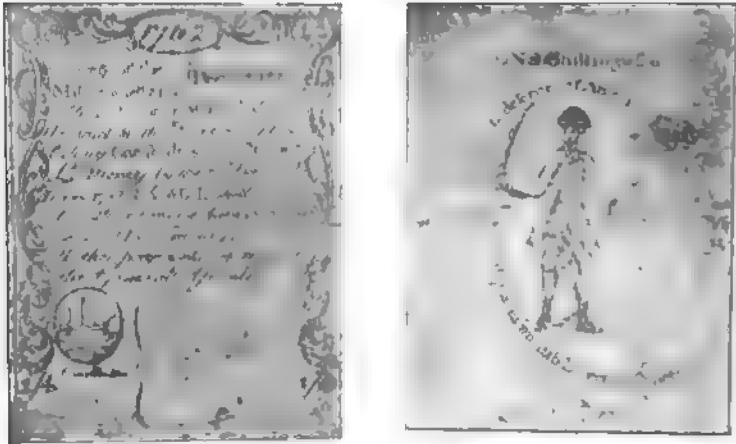
1776
January 8

across Charlestown Neck, burned the bakery of the British troops on the peninsula. That evening, a Boston audience at Faneuil Hall was enjoying a little farce written by Burgoyne and entitled *The Boston Blockade*. During the performance of the play, a sergeant hurried on the stage and announced that the Yankees were on Bunker Hill. Thinking that the sergeant and his story were parts of the play, the merry audience was much delighted. But Howe soon sent for his officers and the playhouse was deserted as it became known that it was Knowlton and not a “vaudevil” joke.

The Proposed
Attack on
Boston

January 4

By this time, the army was weaker than it had been since the siege began and Washington found his position very precarious. “Search the vast volumes of history through,” he wrote, “and I much question whether a case similar to ours is to be found; to wit, to maintain a post against the flower of the British troops for six months together, without [powder], and at the end of them to have one army disbanded and another to raise within the same distance of a reinforced enemy. It is too much to attempt.” Nevertheless, congress had



Massachusetts Bay Currency, Issue of December 7, 1775

authorized an attack on Boston and the country was expecting prompt action. On the sixteenth of January,



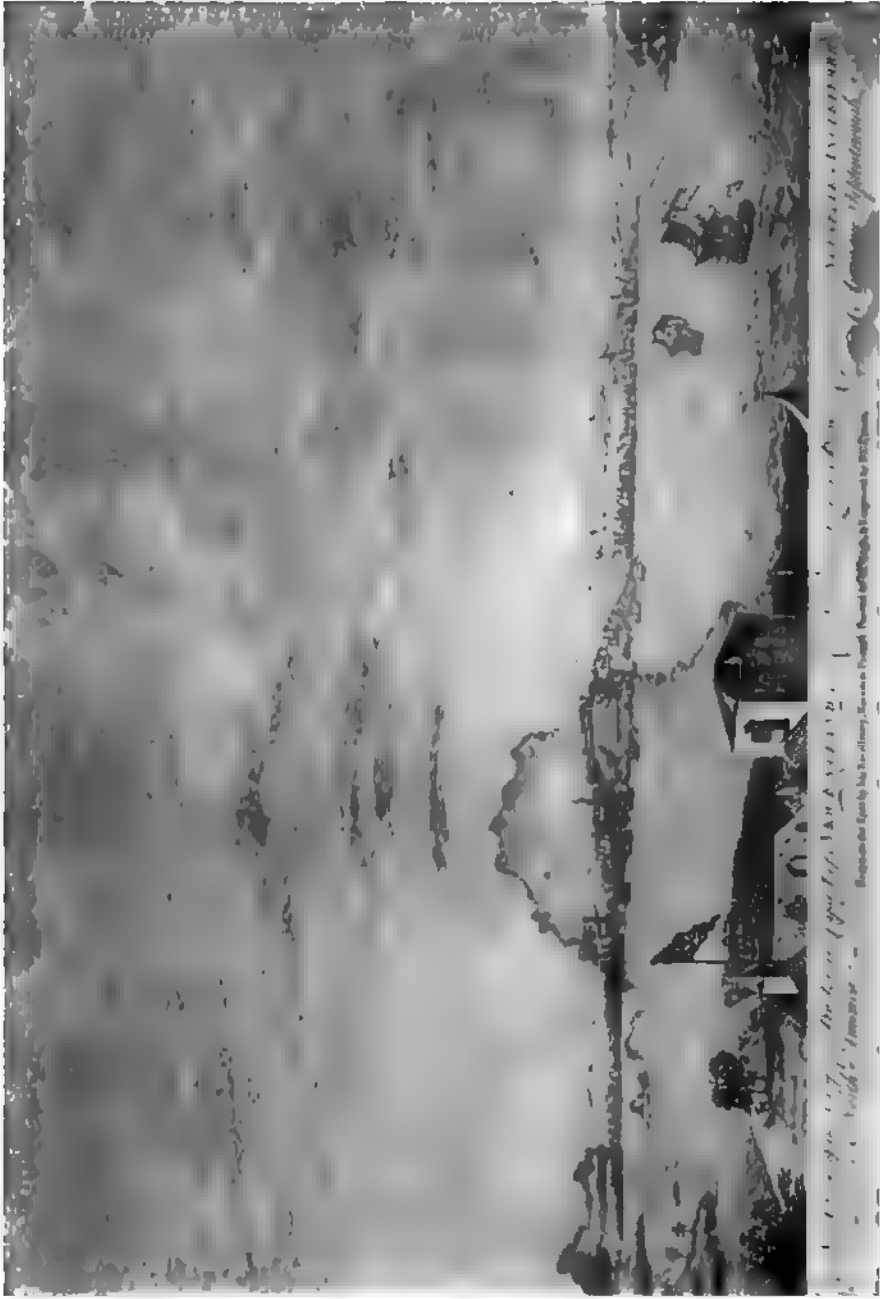
he submitted the question to a council of war which 1 7 7 6
unanimously agreed that an attack ought to be made soon, but that the force available was inadequate and that the commander-in-chief ought to make a requisition on Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut for thirteen regiments of militia for service during February and March. Washington acted upon this advice and congress approved the measure, but, news of the disaster at Quebec having arrived, a story that will soon be told, three of the regiments were sent to reinforce General Schuyler.

In February, no movements more important than skirmishes took place. Washington had intended to march into the town as soon as the river and harbor were frozen, and had written to a friend, "Give me powder or *ice*." But when at last there was "a freeze and some pretty strong ice," a council of war decided that the enterprise was too hazardous. The same council decided that a bombardment would be advisable as soon as a sufficient supply of powder was received and that Dorchester Heights should be seized and fortified. By the end of the month, the army was strong enough to warrant offensive measures. Colonel Knox had brought more than fifty captured cannons, mortars, and howitzers on sleds over frozen lakes and through deep snows from Fort George, "over the ridges of the Green Mountains and down through the hill country of New England over roads which never bore a cannon before and have never borne one since;" shells had been obtained from the king's store at New York and from a captured ordnance brig; and even powder was now more abundant. Heavy guns had been mounted at Lechmere Point and elsewhere, and ten militia regiments had come in to strengthen the lines. On the twenty-sixth, Washington informed the Massachusetts council of his plans and obtained an order for the militia of the towns near Dorchester and Roxbury "to repair to the lines at these places" upon a given signal. "I should think," he wrote to congress, "if anything will induce them to

To Force
the Fighting

February 16

February 26



POWELL'S VIEW OF BOSTON

hazard an engagement, It will be our attempting to fortifie these heights; as on that event's taking place, we shall be able to command a great part of the town, and almost the whole harbor, and to make them rather disagreeable than otherwise, provided we can get a sufficient supply of what we greatly want." 1 7 7 6

Extensive preparations were made for the attempt. Fascines, gabions, and bales of hay were collected in large quantities; forty-five bateaux, each capable of carrying eighty men, and two floating batteries were assembled in the Charles River; and two thousand bandages were prepared for dressing wounds. Washington had determined not only to seize the heights, but, if opportunity offered, to assault the city as well. To divert the enemy's attention, a heavy cannonade was kept up on the nights of the second, third, and fourth of March. About seven o'clock on the night of the fourth, General Thomas, with two thousand men, marched to take possession of the heights. A covering party of eight hundred led the way, then came carts loaded with entrenching tools, then twelve hundred men under the immediate command of General Thomas, while three hundred carts loaded with fascines and hay brought up the rear. The detachments moved quietly and were not discovered. By morning, two redoubts were so far completed as to form a good defense against bullets and grape-shot. "Perhaps," wrote Heath, "there never was so much work done in so short a space of time."

Dorchester
Heights
Occupied

ms. 4. 1776

In the morning, the British looked, rubbed their eyes, and looked again. But the new fortifications were no mirage or dream. Howe is said to have remarked that "the Rebels have done more in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." "It must have been the employment of at least twelve thousand men," he wrote to Lord Dartmouth, while one of his officers declared that the intrenchments "were raised with an expedition equal to that of the Genii belonging to Aladdin's Wonderful Lamp." Anxiety quickly took the place of astonishment. "If they retain possession of

Preparations
for Attack

1776 the heights," said Admiral Shulldham, "I cannot keep a ship in the harbor." The British soon realized that they must storm the works or evacuate the town. Consequently, Earl Percy was ordered to embark twenty-four hundred men on transports and to make a night attack upon the heights. The rebels made ready for their reception. Two thousand men were sent to reinforce General Thomas; rows of barrels filled with earth and stone were ready to be rolled down the hill upon the attacking column; Washington visited the heights and,

March 5



The Elements
Forbid

Dorchester Heights Monument
(Marks the spot from which Washington
saw the evacuation of Boston)

reminding the men that it was the anniversary of the "Boston Massacre," urged them to avenge the death of their brethren. Meanwhile, four thousand troops, under Generals Putnam, Greene, and Sullivan, were assembled at Cambridge for an assault upon Boston.

In the afternoon of the fifth, a furious wind arose and so roughened the water of the bay that a landing of the British vessels was impracticable; the following day was stormy and rainy. Meanwhile the Americans so strengthened their works

that the British, with Bunker Hill still fresh in memory, deemed the position too strong to be attacked. On the seventh of March, General Howe called a council of war at which it was decided to evacuate the town. When this intention became known, the inhabitants were much alarmed, but General Howe gave assurances that the city would not be destroyed unless his troops were "molested during their embarkation, or at their departure, by the

armed force without." A statement to this effect was sent into the American lines and it was tacitly agreed that



View of the North Battery, Boston

the Americans would allow the British to embark without molestation. In spite of this agreement, the British seized goods that, "in the possession of the rebels, would enable them to carry on war." This authorized plundering was imitated by lawless Tories, soldiers, and sailors. Thus considerable private property was stolen or wantonly destroyed. Although the booty carried off was not so great as some historians have represented, it included the manuscript of Bradford's *History of Plimoth Plantation*.

On the night of the sixteenth, Washington fortified Nooks Hill and thereby precipitated the embarkation. On the following day, the British forces, about eleven thousand including seamen, embarked on about one hundred and twenty transports and, taking with them about a thousand Tories who feared to remain behind, headed, it was irreverently said, "for Hull, Halifax, or Hell." For ten days, the fleet lingered at Nantasket Road; in this period, the fort at Castle William that Howe had had mined, was destroyed. On the twenty-seventh, most of the ships sailed for Halifax, leaving a few vessels that, for two months, caused the Americans great annoyance. On the day that Howe left Boston, part of the besieging army marched into the city and, on the twentieth, the main army entered. The Americans found large quantities of valuable stores,

Boston is
Evacuated

March 17

- 1776 including about two hundred and fifty cannons, half of them serviceable, and twenty-five thousand bushels of wheat. From time to time, a number of vessels, unaware of the evacuation, sailed into the harbor and were captured, among them being a prize having on board fifteen hundred barrels of powder. On the day after the evacuation,
- March 18 | Washington ordered General Heath with five regiments and part of the artillery to New York. The troops marched by way of Norwich to New London and thence took shipping to their destination. Upon the departure of the British fleet from Nantasket, Washington ordered the rest of his army south, leaving General Ward with five regiments for the protection of Boston.

Comment and
Congratulation The news of the evacuation caused great chagrin among the supporters of the government in England but was received with satisfaction by many Whigs. In the colonies, the tidings aroused great enthusiasm. The selectmen of Boston and the provincial legislature thanked Washington in flattering terms for the service he had performed, and the continental congress, on motion of John Adams, passed a vote of thanks and ordered a gold medal to be struck and presented to him. Never, perhaps, in the world's history had so large an army supported by a powerful fleet been expelled from so strong a position with so little bloodshed. All told, the liberation of New England had cost fewer than two hundred lives in battle, and from the time that Washington took command not more than twenty had been killed. But the real tug of war was yet to come.





CHAPTER XVIII

THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS
— SEPTEMBER TO DECEMBER

THE continental congress had reassembled after its recess on the fifth of September, and on the thirteenth, plunged into the consideration of the details of military preparation, the regulation of Indian affairs, the enforcement of the non-importation agreement, and similar matters. It advised the provincial conventions or committees "to arrest and secure every person in their respective Colonies, whose going at large may, in their opinion, endanger the safety of the Colony, or the liberties of *America*." It ordered the preparation of "a just and well authenticated account" of British aggressions since the preceding March. It cautiously declined to pass upon the claims of the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming district of Pennsylvania, merely requesting the assemblies of the two colonies involved to prevent hostilities. By this time, new governments were forming west of the mountains (of which more in the next volume), but when the representative sent by Transylvania (in what is now Kentucky) appeared at the congress with a memorial asking that the frontier community be accepted as one of the united colonies, he was privately informed by John and Samuel Adams that it would be improper for the congress to grant the request "for it would be looked upon as a confirmation of the independent spirit with which Congress was daily reproached." In the midst of these labors, Peyton Randolph died.

Congress
Again
at Work

October 6,
1775

October 24

1775 In the same month, congress recommended the provincial assemblies and conventions to export provisions to the foreign West Indies in order to get arms and ammunition, a result of congressional knowledge that the continental army was in sore straits for want of gunpowder. In fact, Boston agents had been at Amsterdam during the previous winter buying such supplies, and the little volcanic island of Saint Eustatius, one of the almost insignificant Dutch West Indies, took on such "resounding prosperity" that, at the instance of the British minister, the states-general had issued a proclamation forbidding the exportation of ammunition or other warlike stores to the British colonies in America. But the prohibition was easily and constantly evaded and much of the powder that the continental army shot away came from Holland by way of Saint Eustatius. In 1776, the British minister reported that a favorite way was for ships to load for the coast of Africa and sail for Saint Eustatius, where "their cargoes, being the most proper assortments, are instantly bought up by the American agents."

Dutch Thrift

March 6 A few weeks later, he wrote that the little island was the rendezvous of everything and everybody meant to be clandestinely conveyed to America.

May 14

A Navy Begun On the fifth of October, came information that two British transports without convoy had sailed from England laden with arms and ammunition for Quebec. The continental army stood in great need of such supplies and congress determined to make an effort to capture them. It was therefore resolved "That a committee of three be appointed to prepare a plan for intercepting two vessels, which are on their way to Canada, loaded with Arms and powder, and that the committee proceed on this business immediately." According to a letter written by John Adams, the committee consisted of himself, John Langdon, and Silas Deane. Acting on the report of this committee, congress resolved "That a swift sailing vessel, to carry ten carriage guns, and a proportionable number of swivels, with eighty men, be fitted, with all possible despatch" to cruise "eastward for intercept-

October 13

ing such transports . . . and for such other purposes as the Congress shall direct," and that "a Committee of three be appointed to prepare an estimate of the expence, and lay the same before the Congress, and to contract with proper persons to fit out the vessel," and that "another vessel be fitted out for the same purposes, and that the said committee report their opinion of a proper vessel, and also an estimate of the expence." By ballot, Silas Deane, John Langdon, and Christopher Gadsden were chosen as the committee. On the thirtieth, this committee brought in its report and congress resolved that "the second vessel ordered to be fitted out on the 13th Inst, do carry 14 guns, with a proportionate number of swivels and men. . . . That two other armed vessels be fitted out with all expedition; the one to carry not exceeding 20 Guns, and the other not exceeding 36 Guns, with a proportionate number of swivels and men, to be employed in such manner, for the protection and defence of the united Colonies, as the Congress shall hereafter direct." The growth of congressional ideas concerning armament and purpose between the thirteenth and the thirtieth is significant. It was also decided to increase the committee, and Stephen Hopkins, Joseph Hewes, Richard Henry Lee, and John Adams were chosen as additional members. The sessions of this committee of seven, sometimes called "the marine committee," but more often "the naval committee," were held in the evening and "were sometimes pleasantly continued, even until midnight, by conversational diversions, marked by a rich flow of soul, history, poetry, wine, and Jamaica rum." Thus was laid the keel of the American navy. This marine committee bought two vessels that were named the "Lexington" and the "Reprisal." John Barry was commissioned as captain of the former and Lambert Wickes as captain of the latter. Thus John Barry, Irish born and "probably the first Catholic

I 7 7 5
The Naval
Committee

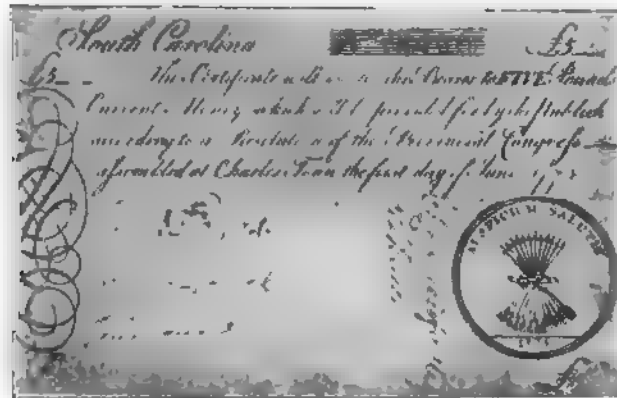


Autograph of Barry

December 7



still hesitated, so regarded it, and pronounced it the first 1775 step towards independence." Samuel Adams wrote: November 4



South Carolina Currency, Issue of June 1, 1775

"Every moment should be improved to some serious purpose. It is the age of George III.; and, to do justice to our most gracious king, I will affirm it is my opinion that his councils and administration will necessarily produce the grandest revolutions the world has ever seen. The wheels of Providence seem to be in their swiftest motion. Events succeed each other so rapidly that the most industrious and able politicians can scarcely improve them to the full purposes for which they seem to be designed." The exaltation of the hour is clearly reflected in the resolution adopted in December authorizing an attack on Boston "notwithstanding the town and property in it may be destroyed," and John Hancock's letter to Washington, both mentioned in the chapter preceding this. But Samuel Adams had been and still was in advance of his compatriots.

From this time, congress assumed a bolder tone, and its action took on more of the character of comprehensive legislation. The articles of war were strengthened, rules were drafted for the regulation of captures and reprisals and for privateering, and the colonies were urged to establish prize-courts. The capture of any armed vessel employed against the colonies, or of any

The New
Navy

1775 tender or transport carrying munitions of war to the enemy had been authorized in November, and now, at the suggestion of the naval committee, the building of thirteen new war-ships, designated as "Hancock," "Randolph," "Raleigh," "Warren," "Washington," "Congress," "Effingham," "Providence," "Trumbull," "Virginia," "Boston," "Delaware," and "Montgomery" was ordered. Laws authorizing the purchase of additional merchant vessels suitable for cruisers were soon passed and, on the twenty-second of December, the naval committee laid before the congress a list of officers and the nominations were confirmed.

December 13



Esek Hopkins

he seems to have been commonly called commodore and sometimes admiral.

The
Committee on
Foreign
Affairs
November 29

Another important step had been taken in the appointment of a committee of five, Franklin being one of them, "for the sole purpose of corresponding with our friends in Great Britain, Ireland and other parts of the world." In this committee, the powers and duties of which gradually overshadowed those of most other committees of the continental congress, is to be seen the beginning of a department of foreign affairs. Further to cement the

Esek Hopkins, a brother of Stephen Hopkins, a member of the committee, was made commander-in-chief of the navy, and Dudley Saltonstall, Abraham Whipple, Nicholas Biddle, and John Burroughs Hopkins were made captains. Of the five first lieutenants, John Paul Jones was first named. There were also five second lieutenants, and three third lieutenants. Esek Hopkins's title was intended to correspond to that held by Washington, but

union, it was resolved "that in the present situation of affairs, it will be very dangerous to the liberties and welfare of *America*, if any Colony should separately petition the King or either House of Parliament." Provision was also made for a committee to sit during the recess of congress, with executive powers almost as ample as those of congress itself.

1775
December 4

The time devoted to the consideration of the subject indicates that the coöperation of Canada and other British colonies was still expected. A committee, appointed in November, to visit the northern army under General Schuyler at Ticonderoga, was charged to use its "utmost endeavours" to induce the Canadians to enter the union, hold a provincial convention, and send delegates to congress. Free government and liberty of conscience were especially promised and blank commissions were to be taken along for use in raising a Canadian regiment. The failure of Arnold and Montgomery's attack on Quebec, the story of which will be told in the following chapter, made the conquest of Canada out of the question, but congress did not abandon its efforts. Agents were also sent to inquire into conditions in Nova Scotia and Washington was authorized to invade that province if he thought it "practicable and expedient." From Bermuda came petitions for relief from the pressure of the non-exportation agreement which was producing scarcity and suffering. In view of the apparent friendliness of the people to the American cause, congress directed that an annual provision of certain food products and other necessities be made for them by Pennsylvania, New York, and the southern colonies, the exports to be paid for by Bermuda in salt, arms, ammunition, and the like. A similar situation arose in Nantucket and a similar concession was made to them. Thanks to the rigorous hand that congress had laid upon them earlier in the year, the people of Nantucket were suffering for fuel and provisions.

It Might
Have Been

December 31

Congress did not reply to the king's proclamation of rebellion until the sixth of December. Then, in a formal response, the charge of treason was repudiated.

The Reply
to the
Proclamation

1 7 7 5 "We know of no laws binding upon us, but such as have been transmitted to us by our ancestors, and such as have been consented to by ourselves, or our representatives elected for that purpose. . . . The cruel and illegal attacks, which we oppose, have no foundation in the royal authority. . . . Can Proclamations, according to the principles of reason and justice, and the Constitution, go farther than the law? . . . We, therefore, in the name of the People of these *United Colonies*, and by authority, according to the purest maxims of representation, derived from them, declare, that whatever punishment shall be inflicted upon any persons in the power of our enemies for favouring, aiding, or abetting the cause of *American* liberty, shall be retaliated in the same kind and the same degree upon those in our power, who have favoured, aided, or abetted, or shall favour, aid, or abet the system of ministerial oppression."

Hard Work

December 3

One has but to read attentively the journal of the continental congress to realize how laborious and fatiguing were the duties assumed by the members. "How I find time," wrote John Adams, "to write half the letters I do, I know not, for my whole time seems engrossed with business. The whole Congress is taken up, almost, in different committees, from seven to ten in the morning. From ten to four or sometimes five, we are in Congress, and from six to ten, in committees again." There were signs that the strain was telling and that enthusiasm was not quite as intense as it was in the beginning. On the sixteenth of November, the immediate presence of absent delegates was requested, and for the future no member was to absent himself without leave. There were ugly reports, too, of frauds in military contracts and of extravagant living by army officers. Worst of all, the bills of credit had depreciated and it was reported that "several evil disposed persons" had exerted themselves to that end.



C H A P T E R X I X

THE N O R T H E R N C A M P A I G N

WHILE there were American sympathizers at Quebec and a committee of correspondence at Montreal, the lands that bordered the Saint Lawrence were no part of "the continent" and congress hesitated to carry the war across the line; in other words, Canada had not cast in her lot with the other colonies and there was need of caution. The Canadian French were now ruled by their traditional enemies against whom they and their ancestors had fought for generations, but the people of the revolting colonies were of the same race and some of their leaders, irritated by the recent Quebec act, had said bitter things about the Roman Catholic religion. Sir Guy Carleton, a British general of Irish birth who had been governor of Quebec for several years, thought that the Catholic clergy and the French upper classes would prove loyal to the king, but the idea was prevalent that the mass of the people would side with the Americans or at least remain neutral.

A Possible
Fourteenth
Colony

There was but one battalion of British troops in all Canada. The temptation to occupy the country was great and Arnold and Allen were eager; nevertheless the continental congress resolved "that no expedition or incursion ought to be undertaken or made, by any colony or body of colonists, against or into Canada." But events quickly worked a change at Philadelphia. Congress had called upon New York and Connecticut to furnish a stronger garrison for Ticonderoga and Crown

A Campaign
Authorized

June 1, 1775

1 7 7 5 Point as an offset to Carleton's activity in strengthening the fortifications at Saint Johns and his apparent purpose to recover what had been lost on Lake Champlain. Arnold was importuning New York for command and congress recommended the convention of that colony to employ the Green Mountain Boys under officers of their own choosing. Finally, on the twenty-seventh of June, when the opportunity that had been pointed out was



Autograph of Philip Schuyler

over-ripe, congress directed Major-general Philip Schuyler to hasten to Ticonderoga whither

Connecticut had sent Colonel Hinman with a thousand men. In case he found that Carleton was preparing to invade the colonies, as Arnold had reported, Schuyler was forthwith to destroy the British boats or floating batteries. "If General Schuyler finds it practicable, and that it will not be disagreeable to the Canadians, he [shall] immediately take possession of St. Johns, Montreal, and any other parts of the country, and pursue any other measures in Canada which may have a tendency to promote the peace and security of these colonies."

Schuyler at
Ticonderoga

Schuyler reached Ticonderoga on the eighteenth of July and at once began to organize the northern army. Major John Brown was sent into the country between Lake Champlain and Montreal to gather information. Recruits came slowly, arms and ammunition more slowly still, money for the payment of the soldiers not at all, and troubles blossomed in abundance. The British superintendent of Indian affairs, Guy Johnson, together with Sir John Johnson, son of the former superintendent, Sir William Johnson, who had lately died, had great influence among the Indians of the Mohawk valley and were quietly arming them in the interest of the king. It was probably the danger from this quarter that had led congress to vote in favor of Indian alliances and, two weeks later, to prepare an elaborate "talk" to the Six Nations.

July 1

There were sectional and personal difficulties, too. 1 7 7 5
 Schuyler, who had been a commissioner of New York in Schuyler's
 the controversy over the New Hampshire grants, had Problem
 thus far known the Green Mountain Boys only as lawless
 frontiersmen and as soldiers whose leaders, Allen and
 Warner, had recently quarreled, first with Arnold and
 then with each other. On the twenty-seventh of July
 they had chosen Warner as their leader. Schuyler had
 but few troops from New York, and those from Con-
 necticut were too lax in discipline to suit his ideas of mili-
 tary propriety. The relations between him and General
 Wooster of Connecticut were not pleasant; the differences
 between them seem not to be wholly settled yet. Con-
 gress had directed him not to remove either Wooster or July 1
 his command from New York, but to recruit his army
 from the Green Mountain Boys and the people of the
 neighborhood. Schuyler naturally felt that his twelve
 hundred men were inadequate for the serious undertaking
 contemplated by congress and, on the sixth of August,
 asked for further instructions. Before the middle of the
 month, Major Brown returned
 from his pilgrimage with the
 report that there were but three
 hundred regulars in garrison at
 Saint Johns and only four hun-
 dred more in Canada.

On the seventeenth of August,
 Brigadier-general Richard Mont-
 gomery arrived at the camp at
 Ticonderoga, second in command
 under Schuyler. He was an
 Irishman who, after active service
 in the British army, had sold his
 commission, purchased a fine
 estate on the banks of the Hud-
 son River, and married a
 daughter of Robert R. Livings-
 ton; his presence "changed the
 spirit of the camp." Word



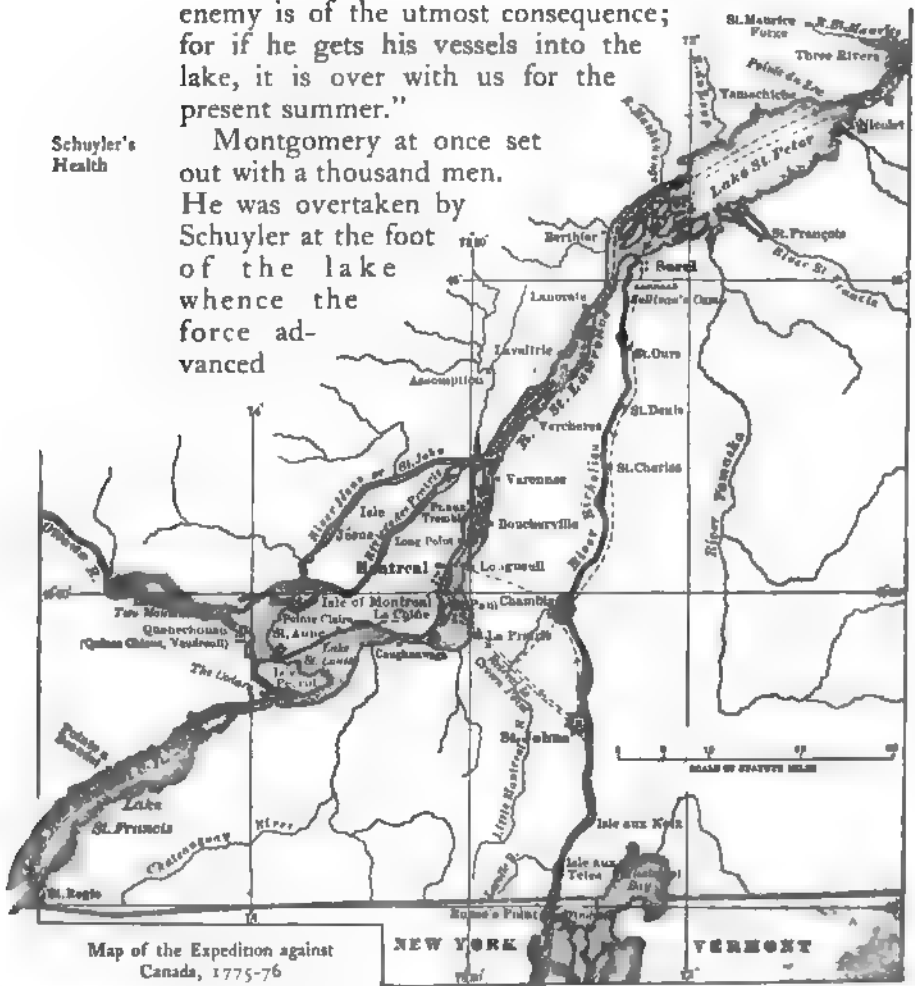
Rich. Montgomery

1775
General
Montgomery

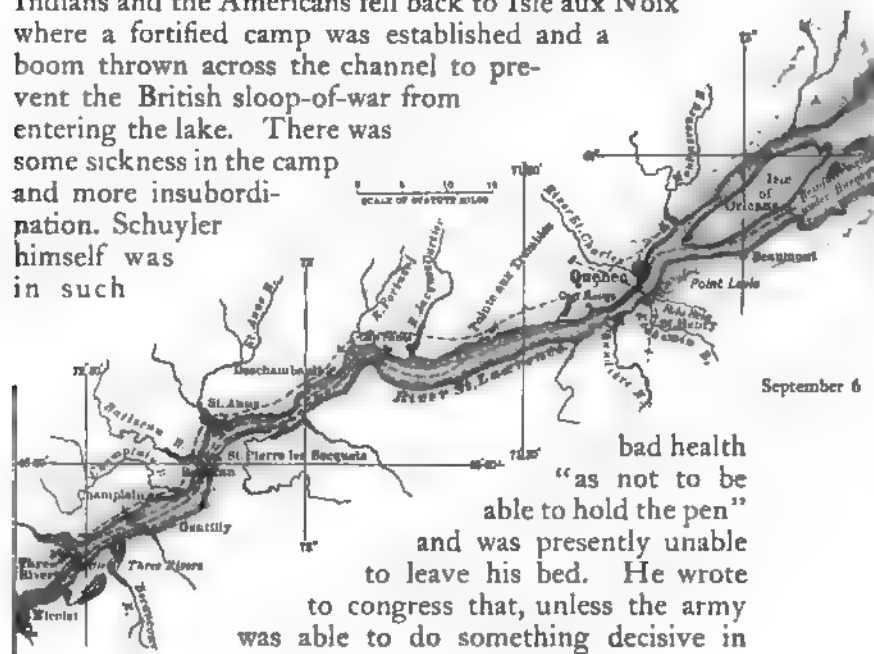
came to Ticonderoga that Carleton was about to move up the lake from Saint Johns. Schuyler, who was at Albany, received a message from Washington telling him that he was considering an expedition to be sent against Canada by way of the Kennebec. "Not a moment's time is to be lost," wrote the commander-in-chief. Montgomery wrote to Schuyler that he did not like to move without orders, "but the prevention of the enemy is of the utmost consequence; for if he gets his vessels into the lake, it is over with us for the present summer."

Schuyler's
Health

Montgomery at once set out with a thousand men. He was overtaken by Schuyler at the foot of the lake whence the force advanced



on Saint Johns. There was a skirmish with a party of 1775 Indians and the Americans fell back to Isle aux Noix where a fortified camp was established and a boom thrown across the channel to prevent the British sloop-of-war from entering the lake. There was some sickness in the camp and more insubordination. Schuyler himself was in such



bad health "as not to be able to hold the pen" and was presently unable to leave his bed. He wrote to congress that, unless the army was able to do something decisive in Canada, he should abandon his position, "unless I receive your orders to the contrary." After "a large controversy" in congress, Schuyler was "encouraged to attend to his own health" and the immediate direction of the campaign fell to Montgomery.

As soon as Schuyler left Isle aux Noix, Montgomery laid siege to Saint Johns. He found his troops so inefficient and insubordinate that he wrote to his wife: "I am so exceeding out of spirits and so chagrined with the behavior of the troops, that I most heartily repent having undertaken to lead them. . . . Such a set of pusillanimous wretches never were collected." Even the less impulsive Schuyler declared that "if Job had been a general in my situation, his memory had not been so famous for patience." A battery could not be moved without consulting the army, but Montgomery "saved appearances by consulting a council of war." The siege

Montgomery
Besieges
Saint Johns

1 7 7 5 lasted about two months. Schuyler was zealous in forwarding reinforcements and, in spite of sickness, insubordination, and lack of munitions of war, the campaign was crowned with success.

An
Unfortunate
Dream

While the siege was in progress, Ethan Allen and Major Brown were sent to enlist recruits among the Canadians; they were received with such favor that Allen dreamed of surprising Montreal as he had surprised Ticonderoga. One night, toward the end of September, he crossed the river to Long Point, expecting that Brown would coöperate with him. But Brown did not cross the river and, in the morning, Allen and his eighty Canadians and thirty Americans were attacked by about two hundred and sixty regulars, civilians, and Indians. A dozen or more of the invading party were killed or wounded; Allen and thirty-eight of his men were taken prisoners; the rest escaped. The valiant leader of the Green Mountain Boys and the hero of Ticonderoga was heavily ironed, sent to England, and there imprisoned in Pendennis castle.

The
Canadian
Refugees

Among the members of the distinguished family into which Montgomery had married was James Livingston, who, though born in New York and educated there for the bar, had removed to Montreal, where he was practicing his profession.



Autograph of James Livingston

Perhaps the fact that Montgomery was in command intensified Livingston's patriotism and made him eager to assist in the American conquest of Canada. Be the cause what it may, he gathered three or four hundred "patriots," most of them from Montreal and vicinity, hurried across the border, and joined Montgomery's army. These Canadian auxiliaries continued with Montgomery until the end of the campaign. After the final disaster at Quebec, Livingston returned to New York and served in the American army until the end of the war. He and his men were looked upon by the British authorities as outlaws and they became refugees in

name and fact. They were the analogues of the loyalists of the thirteen colonies, but concerning them historians have had much less to say. Long subsequently Colonel Livingston and other "refugees from Canada and Nova Scotia" were partly compensated for the confiscation of their estates by grants of land in the "refugee tract," in which the greater part of the capital of Ohio now stands.

On the eighteenth of October, a detachment of Montgomery's little army attacked Fort Chambly, further down the Sorel, and captured it



Flag of the Seventh British Fusileers, captured at Fort Chambly



with its large store of ammunition and provisions. The six tons of powder and the cannons taken at Fort Chambly were most opportune for the besiegers of Saint Johns where ammunition was running low. The colors of the seventh fusileers—the first taken in the war—were sent to congress, and the one hundred and sixty-eight prisoners marched to Connecticut. Carleton, undertaking to relieve Saint Johns, saw his army dwindle by desertion, "thirty or forty of a night." Another

Montgomery
Takes Saint
Johns

See, woofers

force was gathered and, at the end of October, he tried to cross the Saint Lawrence, only to be driven back by Colonel Seth Warner and his Green Mountain Boys and the "Second

1775 Regiment of Yorkers." Schuyler continued to send reinforcements and supplies from Albany. When General Wooster arrived with recruits from Connecticut, he set a much needed example of military discipline by promptly acknowledging the superior rank of the younger Montgomery. With Fort Chambly lost and Carleton repulsed, Major Preston's hope of relief faded away and, on the third of November, he surrendered Saint Johns. Five hundred regulars and a hundred Canadians—the greater part of the British army in Canada—were allowed to march out with the honors of war.

Montgomery
Occupies
Montreal
November 13



Guy Carleton

November 8

John Langdon, and Robert Treat Paine with instructions to examine the fortifications at Ticonderoga and "to use their endeavors to procure an accession of the Canadians to a union with these colonies." Our story now turns to the attempt on Quebec.

Arnold's
Expedition

Disappointed and mortified at his failure to obtain the preferment to which he felt himself entitled, Arnold had hastened from Crown Point to lay his grievances before

Leaving Montreal to its fate, Carleton retired to Quebec. Montgomery hastened northward as rapidly as possible and occupied Montreal without opposition. He urged the Canadians to choose without delay "faithful representatives to sit in the continental congress, and make a part of that union," and in other ways tried to attach them to the American cause. He wrote to congress, however, that "till Quebec is taken, Canada is unconquered;" and he "pledged his word that on his part there should be no negligence of duty, no infirmity of purpose." Con-

gress was in earnest in its efforts to secure the fourteenth colony and had lately sent Robert R. Livingston,

the commander-in-chief at Cambridge. Recognizing the abilities of the uneasy Connecticut officer and confident that the British in Boston would not assume the offensive, Washington gave Arnold a colonel's commission and put him in command of an expedition intended to penetrate Canada by the way of the Kennebec River. The force detached for this hazardous undertaking numbered about ten hundred and fifty men, most of them chosen for their experience and skill in woodcraft. Among the number were Daniel Morgan and his Virginia riflemen, and Aaron Burr, a nineteen-year old volunteer.

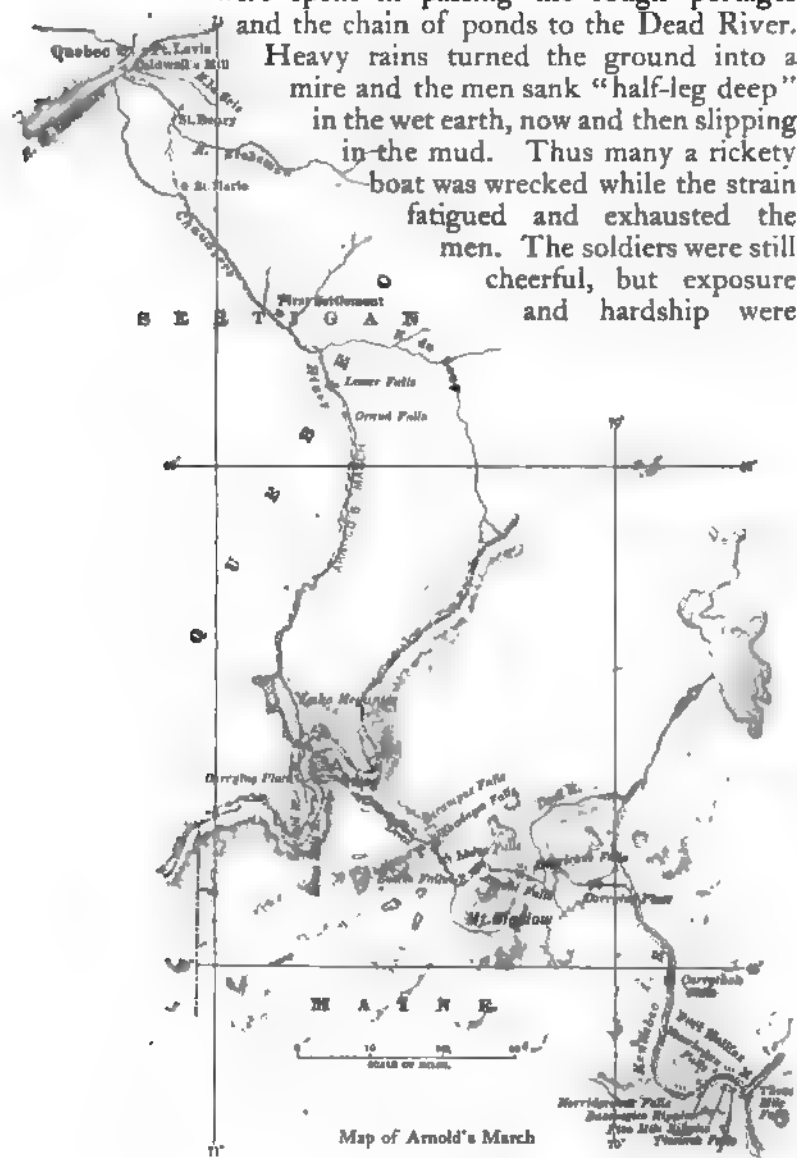
Although the lateness of the season imperatively dictated haste, there was some delay in setting out. The advance left Cambridge on Monday, the eleventh of September, the main body followed on Wednesday, and all were at Newburyport by the end of the week. Here they took ship for the Kennebec and, by the twenty-second, had ascended the river to Gardinerstown, or Pittston, where a number of poorly-built bateaux had been made ready. Two days later, the army was at Fort Western, now Augusta, and the next day began the memorable transit of the Maine wilderness, Morgan and his riflemen leading the way. The Kennebec is broken by frequent rapids, the portages around which involved exhausting labor. In addition to the heavy bateaux, there were provisions for forty-five days, arms and ammunition, tents and camp furnishings, axes and shovels, to be carried. The few small settlements along the river could not furnish much assistance. By the time Skowhegan was reached, forty miles from Fort Western, there was cold weather and some of the soldiers had to sleep in frozen clothes. The main body of the troops marched overland by a rough road following the river, now on one bank and now on the other, as far as Norridgewock.

Norridgewock Falls were passed early in October. The bateaux had already begun to go to pieces and large quantities of provisions had spoiled, flour and pork being about the only articles left. At Carritunk Falls, the

1 7 7 5
Up the
Kennebec

In the
Wilderness

1775 army entered the wilderness and, on the ninth, all were at the Great Carrying-place. Here nearly two weeks were spent in passing the rough portages and the chain of ponds to the Dead River. Heavy rains turned the ground into a mire and the men sank "half-leg deep" in the wet earth, now and then slipping in the mud. Thus many a rickety boat was wrecked while the strain fatigued and exhausted the men. The soldiers were still cheerful, but exposure and hardship were



beginning to tell upon them and sickness was increasing. 1 7 7 5

The ascent of Dead River was an unbroken record of peril, labor, and suffering. Eighty-three miles up this stream the army reached the carry beyond which, through Lake Megantic, lay the head-waters of the Chaudière. There was no trail, nor were there guides who knew the country. Provisions were nearly gone, some of the men had died, many were sick, and all were hungry and threatened with disease and death in swamp and stream, pond and pathless forest. "And what was it all for? A chance to get killed. The end of the march was Quebec, impregnable." On the twenty-fourth of October, Arnold left the remnant of his army to follow him and pushed ahead for the Chaudière, "a race against time, a race against hunger." Arnold hoped to rejoin his men with provisions in a week and some of the soldiers, imagining that supplies were on the way, hastened to consume at once the food that remained. On the twenty-fifth and without Arnold's knowledge, Lieutenant-colonel Enos and three companies turned back. Thus reduced to about seven hundred men, the feeble but heroic army toiled on.



Arnold's Watch

The name Chaudière signifies "a boiling kettle" and was aptly descriptive of the upper course of the river. On the twenty-eighth of October, Arnold, with fifteen men in four bateaux and a canoe, passed out of Lake Megantic into the foaming, rocky river, at this point more than a thousand feet above the level of the Saint Lawrence. Two of the boats were smashed, baggage and arms were lost, soon the canoe was abandoned, but the party pressed on until, on Monday, the thirtieth of October, they reached the outskirts of the first French settlement. Three days later, French Canadians with cattle and provisions met the head of the column that had pressed forward out of the wilderness. Men who had been glad of boiled roots and roasted dog now laughed

Over the
Height of
Land

Opportune
Relief

November 2

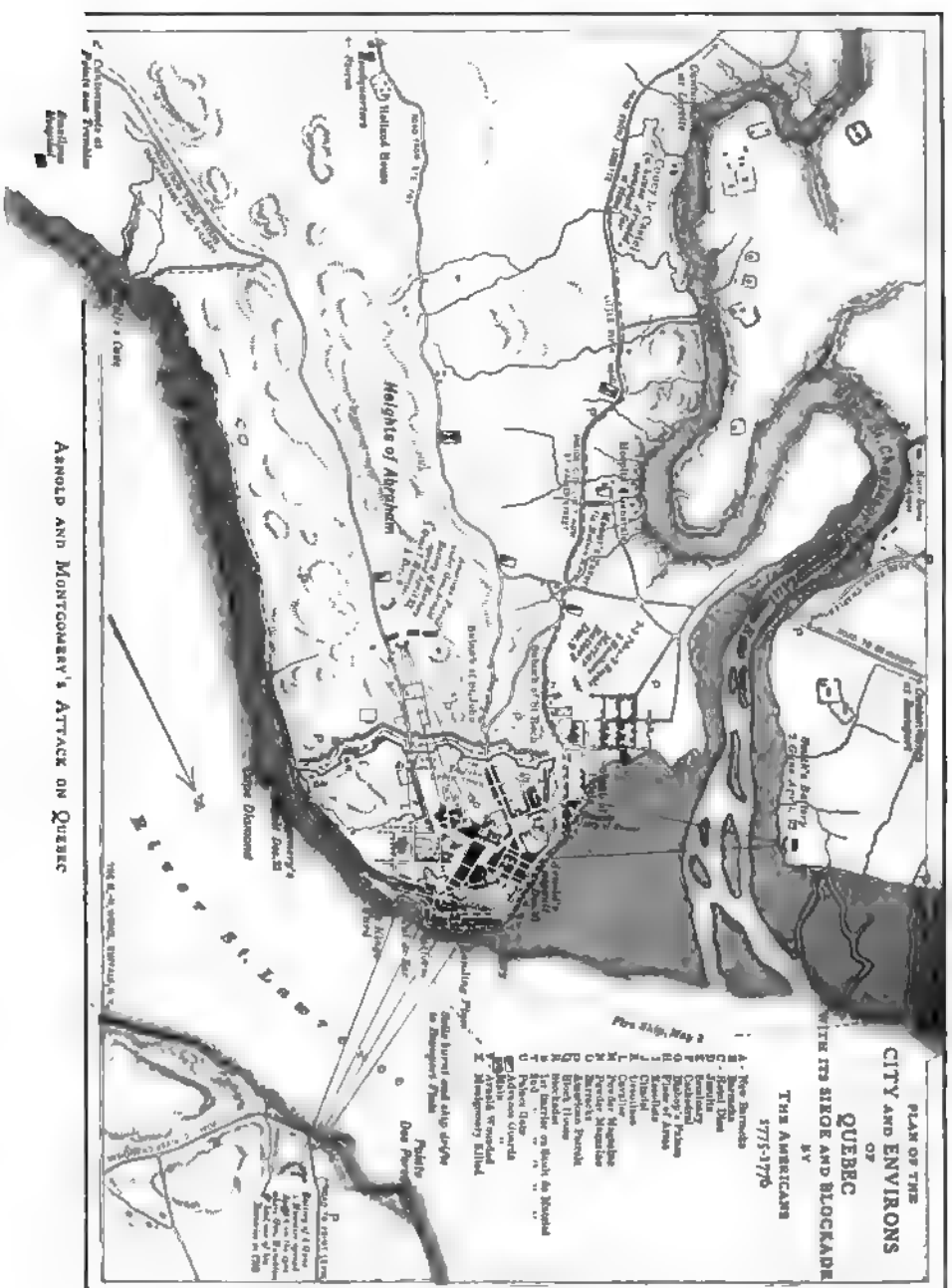
1 7 7 5 in frenzied joy and gorged themselves like wolves on the half-cooked flesh of cattle and sheep. The number of those who lost their lives during the fearful march cannot be accurately told, but it was probably not so large as might have been expected. "A single day," however, "would have made a vast difference; and had the weather been severe, instead of warm and fair, during the most critical period, many a soldier must, no doubt, have succumbed."

Washington's
Proclamation
to the
Canadians

The rest of the way was comparatively easy, a good road following the bank of the river, with villages every few miles. But the troops were so exhausted that the advance was slow and, while food was abundant, the men suffered greatly from lack of shoes and clothing. Arnold's instructions were positive as to rights of property and freedom of conscience, and death was the penalty prescribed for any wrong to a Canadian or an Indian in person or property. A proclamation by Washington, intended to be distributed among the inhabitants, assured the Canadians that the Americans had come to protect and not to injure them, and that "the cause of *America* and of liberty is the cause of every virtuous *American* citizen, whatever may be his religion or his descent. . . . Come, then, ye generous citizens, range yourselves under the standard of general liberty." Arnold found the habitants willing enough to sell him provisions at excessive prices, but indisposed to join his army. A story circulated early in November, that the British proposed to "burn and destroy all the inhabitants in the vicinity of Quebec, unless they came in and took up arms in defence of the garrison," doubtless had a deterring effect. Arnold was more successful with the Indians, forty or fifty of whom accepted his offer of bounty, provisions, and permission to choose their own officers.

Out of
Touch

On the thirteenth of October, while still in the wilderness and facing the return of a part of his force, Arnold had dispatched a letter to Schuyler by the hand of an Indian messenger; the letter fell into the hands of the lieutenant-governor at Quebec. On the seventh of



1 7 7 5 November, Arnold, still in ignorance of what had taken place, wrote again to Schuyler. The next day, he received from Montgomery a letter dated the twenty-ninth of October, five days before the surrender of the fort at Saint Johns. He knew now that Schuyler was probably not in command of the American army in Canada; but of the whereabouts of the army or its leader, he was still ignorant.

Quebec
Reinforced

On the third of November, Arnold's approach became known at Quebec and all the boats on the south side of the Saint Lawrence were seized or destroyed, the river itself was guarded by a frigate and a sloop of war. Arnold waited three days for a strong wind to abate sufficiently to permit the passage of the river in canoes. On the night of the thirteenth, some five hundred men were safely ferried over and took position on the Plains of Abraham; most of the others soon followed, but it was too late to take the town by surprise. A week before, there was hardly a soldier in Quebec. But as soon as Cramahé, the lieutenant-governor, learned of the approach of Montgomery and Arnold, he took vigorous measures to put the town in a state of defense. A hundred carpenters arrived on the fifth; on the twelfth, came Colonel Mac Lean with a hundred and seventy men recruited from Wolfe's disbanded Highlanders who had settled in Canada; and merchant vessels reinforced the armed vessels in the harbor. The delay of a week had saved Quebec.

Carleton at
Quebec

November 11

Arnold formed his shivering, weary army on the Plains of Abraham and offered battle, but he had no artillery and dared not risk an assault. He sent a flag to demand a surrender, but the British refused to leave their position. Carleton "and the whole military establishment" had left Montreal just in advance of Montgomery's arrival. At the mouth of the Sorel, his flotilla, consisting of the "Gaspé," two other armed vessels, and eight smaller craft, was intercepted by the American forces there under command of Colonel James Easton. By night and in disguise, Carleton escaped and, on the nineteenth, the whole fleet surrendered. Two days later, the prisoners

November 16

laid down their arms at Montreal. Meanwhile, with recruits picked up on the way, Carleton reached Quebec just as Arnold was withdrawing to Point aux Trembles, twenty miles above the town, to await the coming of Montgomery. Montgomery arrived on the second or third of December, with three hundred men, cannons, provisions, and much-needed clothing for Arnold's troops; on the fifth, the united American armies, comprising fewer than a thousand provincials and Livingston's two hundred Canadian volunteers, appeared before Quebec. Within the massive fortifications, the strongest in America, Carleton had about seventeen hundred men, with two hundred cannons and eight months' provisions. The only hope of success was in an assault and, as the enlistments of many of the Americans would expire by the end of the year, the attempt must be made soon or not at all. Most of the Green Mountain Boys had deserted Montgomery at Montreal and the congress that had authorized the campaign made little or no effort to send forward fresh recruits.

Carleton remembered Montcalm's rashness, refused to be lured from his defenses, declined to receive Montgomery's flags of truce, and left the American army to the tender mercies of a Canadian winter. On Christmas, the Americans determined to make an assault on the first stormy night. The night of the thirtieth was dark and stormy, and the troops were ordered to be ready to move at two o'clock on the morning of the thirty-first. From the plateau, Livingston and Major Brown were to make feints upon the upper town, to cover assaults by Montgomery and Arnold on opposite sides of the lower town. At the firing of signal rockets from the plateau, Montgomery was to advance from Wolfe's Cove by the river road under the cliff, while Arnold was to move down the narrow strip between the Saint Charles River and the upper town and join Montgomery in the lower town near the Prescott gate. It was hoped that, with the lower town in American hands, the desire of the merchants to save their property would induce Carleton to surrender.

I 7 7 5
November 19.

A Night
Assault on
Quebec

I 7 7 5
At the Pres-
de-Ville
Barricade

Montgomery's column, made up of fewer than three hundred New York troops, moved down the river road in the face of a bitter storm, over ice-covered rocks and through drifting snow. The barricades under Cape Diamond were passed without difficulty. Montgomery was the first to enter the undefended barrier which carpenters began to cut away. The path in front was wide enough for only five or six to march abreast. On the right was a precipice with the river at its foot; on the left, the overhanging cliff; in front, a log blockhouse pierced for muskets and defended by four 3-pounders. Montgomery listened, but heard nothing. Within the blockhouse, sailors were standing at the guns with lighted linstocks; Montgomery's plans had been betrayed and the approach of his troops had been detected. When sixty of his men had joined him inside the first barricade, Montgomery called out: "You will not fear to follow where your general leads. Push on, brave boys, Quebec is ours!" The cannons, loaded with grapeshot, were fired into the faces of the Americans at a distance of not more than fifty yards. Montgomery and a dozen fell dead; Aaron Burr escaped unhurt. A moment of hesitation was followed by musket shots from the blockhouse; then Donald Campbell withdrew the party without further loss.

Montgomery's
Death

At the Sault-
au-Matelot
Barricade

On the other side of the lower town, along a path narrowed by ice thrown up from the river, Arnold's men in single file struggled through the blinding storm and bitter cold. Arnold was severely wounded at the first barricade and was carried back to camp. The town by this time was wide awake; bells were ringing, drums were beating, and guns began to play from battery and barricade. Morgan and his Virginia riflemen rushed forward, firing into the very port-holes, scaled the works with ladders, and captured the battery with its officers and men. The fight was continued in the narrow streets beyond, but Morgan, upon whom the command now devolved, knew nothing of the town and had no guide. The Americans pressed forward to the second barricade which extended from the rock to the river. This was more stoutly

defended than the first and, when Morgan and his intrepid followers looked down from their scaling ladders, "it was only to see on the other side rows of troops prepared to receive them on hedges of bayonets if they had leaped down."

With the repulse of Montgomery's column, Carleton was freed from danger in that quarter, and a sortie of the British from the Palace Gate caught Morgan and his men between the barricades. Morgan tried to cut his way out, but, at ten o'clock, after a desperate and unequal fight, surrendered with four hundred and twenty-six men. Arnold's reserves retreated to their camp, whither Carleton, fully occupied within the town, did not follow them. The American loss in killed and wounded was about sixty; the British loss was slight. And so, amid gloom and disaster, the curtain of the new year rose on the American army of invasion.

Montgomery was buried at once in Quebec and with little ceremony. A few days later, the body was enclosed in a coffin and privately interred with the services of a Protestant clergyman. At forty years of age, the hero passed away "with the love of all that knew him, the grief of the nascent republic, and the eulogies of the world." Congress, "for transmitting to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death," voted three hundred pounds sterling for a monument to his memory. Forty-three years after his death, his widow watched a barge bearing his remains as it slowly passed her home at Rhinebeck, on the Hudson. "The pomp with which it was conducted," she wrote, "added to my woe." The pageant moved down the stream to New York where the remains were interred with distinguished honors.

Even in the house of commons, the chivalrous bravery of Montgomery evoked praise. Lord North having referred to him as a "rebel," Fox retorted that the epithet was no disgrace. "All the great asserters of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind

Caught in
the Trap

In Memoriam
January 4

In Judgment

1 7 7 5
1 7 7 6

1 7 7 6 in all ages, have been called rebels. We owe the constitution which enables us to sit in this house to a rebellion." John Adams expressed a more searching judgment when he wrote to Henry Knox: "We have had some examples of magnanimity and bravery, it is true, which would have done honor to any age or country; but these have been accompanied with a want of skill and experience which entitles the hero to compassion, at the same time that he has our admiration. For my own part, I never think of Warren or Montgomery without lamenting, at the same time that I admire, that inexperience to which perhaps they both owed their glory."

June 2

In Camp on
the Plains
of Abraham

The story of the rest of the Canadian campaign is one of suffering, defeat, and failure. The force that remained to the sorely wounded Arnold who succeeded to the command numbered fewer than seven hundred men, including Livingston's Canadians and many sick and wounded. Desertions were common, smallpox was in the camp, and the rigor of the season continued unabated. Toward the end of January, about a hundred and eighty men arrived in two detachments from Montreal and, early in February, about twenty-five men on snow-shoes from New England. Efforts were made with little success to enlist more Canadians. Arnold wrote to congress asking for heavy artillery and for five thousand men under a general of experience. It was found impracticable to furnish so many troops, but three new regiments were sent from New England. On the twenty-fourth of January, with Arnold's dispatch announcing his defeat before it, congress voted another letter to the inhabitants of Canada, declaring that "we will never abandon you to the unrelenting fury of your and our enemies," and again urging the choice of delegates. Early in March, a regiment of three hundred and forty men arrived from Pennsylvania; they were followed by reinforcements from New England, New York, New Jersey, and colonies further south. On the fourteenth of March, another flag of truce was sent to the city, but the British refused to receive any flag "unless it comes to

January 11



BENEDICT ARNOLD
From original mezzotint engraving in the New York Public Library (Emmet Collection)

Campaign



implore the mercy of the king." The next day, the garrison planted upon the walls a large wooden horse with a bundle of hay before it, and bearing the inscription: "When this horse has eaten this bunch of hay, we will surrender." 1 7 7 6

Toward the end of March, a number of cannons reached the camp from Montreal and, on the first of April, "the rigid and puritanical Wooster" arrived and took the command. The next day, Arnold was again injured by his horse falling on his wounded leg. On the twelfth, Arnold retired to Montreal. A congressional committee consisting of Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, *Charles Carroll of Carrollton* British Reinforcements

Autograph of Charles Carroll

and Charles Carroll of Carrollton soon arrived in Canada, accompanied by John Carroll, the Catholic archbishop of Baltimore. They found that Canadian sentiment was unfavorable to the American cause because of the arbitrary measures that had been resorted to in order to obtain supplies and because the people believed that the Americans would "be driven out of the Province as soon as the King's troops can arrive." Both sides had expectations and it was soon "evident that Quebec was a prize for which the large fleet of reinforcements already dispatched from England, and the new army of the Americans were to race." On the first of May, General John Thomas, who had been sent by congress to succeed Wooster, arrived in camp and found an army of nineteen hundred men, of whom a thousand were fit for duty. On the sixth, the hearts of the besieged were gladdened by the arrival of three vessels, forerunners of a great armament.

A continuance of the siege being out of the question, the Americans began preparations for retreat. Carleton, being reinforced by about two hundred men from the vessels, sallied from the town; the Americans fled with precipitation, leaving their artillery, many of their small arms, much of their baggage, and their sick and wounded. American Retreat

1776

According to the story heard at Halifax by Earl Percy, lately arrived from Boston, "they left their pots boiling so that the king's troops sat down and ate their dinner from them." About this time, a hostile force coming down the river from Ontario fell upon Arnold's outpost at Cedar Rapids ("The Cedars") and captured its garrison. May 19 General Thomas withdrew to the Sorel and Burgoyne landed at Quebec with large reinforcements. On the second of June, Thomas died at Chambly of the smallpox.

In Sorry Plight

Four days later, General Sullivan arrived and took command. The coming of reinforcements brought the army at Sorel up to about twenty-five hundred men,

with per-
haps as
many more
elsewhere.
Sanguine
and pre-
cipitate,
Sullivan re-
solved to

W... Names are under no... is being... in...
the Service of the United States... a...
and engage to continue in such Service until the first Day of December 1778,
unless sooner Discharged; and to furnish himself each with a good eff...
Here when and if possible a Baromet... a...
or in Lieu of a Bayonet a Hatchet or Tomahawk. He is to be...
promote and engage to obey the lawful Commands of the Officers appointed or
to be appointed over us pursuant to the Orders of the General Court of the
Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, and under the Direction of such Officers to march,
when ordered, with the utmost Dispatch to the Northern Department or Canada,
and to be subject to all such Rules and Regulations, in every Respect as are
provided for the Continental Army. July 1775

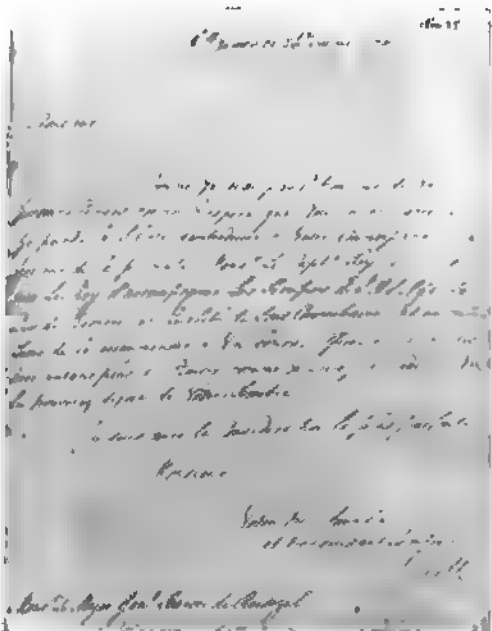
Formula of Enlistment in Continental Army

seize and hold Three Rivers, but the attempt resulted in disastrous failure. The arrival of British and Hessian troops under Burgoyne, Riedesel, and Phillips had brought the effective British force in Canada to about ten thousand. Convinced that he could accomplish nothing, Sullivan, on the approach of the British fleet, broke up his camp and withdrew to Saint Johns where he was joined by Arnold from Montreal. The retreat was then continued to Isle aux Noix and, on the first of July, the fragments of the army arrived at Crown Point where Sullivan was soon relieved by Gates. The condition of the soldiers was deplorable. "Everything about them was infected with the pestilence." "I did not look into a tent or hut," says Trumbull, "in which I did not find either a dead or dying man." Burgoyne moved forward languidly and the Isle aux Noix was occupied as the advanced post of the British.

In Explanation

Thus ended the campaign against Canada. According

to some authorities, it had cost the lives of five thousand Americans—probably an exaggeration. Bancroft says that “in a little more than two months the northern army lost by desertion and death more than five thousand men.” It had brought suffering and death to many Canadians and its failure left at the mercy of the conqueror many more who had incautiously risen against the king. That any good came from the attempt may be neither affirmed nor denied, but it is safe to say that in few campaigns in the history of modern warfare has so much heroism been joined to so much mismanagement. The chief reasons for the failure as given by a committee of congress were that the undertaking was begun too late in the fall, that short enlistments had forced immature expeditions for fear that later there would be no men to undertake them, want of specie, and the smallpox.



Suffolk's Letter to Riedesel introducing an officer, February 26, 1776





seems to be not disinclined to an idea of evacuating Boston, if he can make himself master of New York, and of taking up his winter quarters there; and there is much solid reason in favor of it. The post, in a military view, is much more important and more proper to begin the operations of next year's campaign. In political consideration, yet more might be said for it." Burgoyne's view was so obviously correct that when, later in the year, Washington learned that the British proposed to leave Boston, he at first assumed that Howe would sail for New York instead of Halifax.

New York had organized a provincial congress and a committee of safety, the latter numbering one hundred members. There were many ardent loyalists in the province; some of them were members of the committee. In general, they were opposed to the ministerial policy, but they clung stubbornly to hopes of reconciliation and opposed all radical measures. Within the same committee was a group of Sons of Liberty "who were quick to see and ready to resent any encroachment of arbitrary power." When they heard of the fighting at Lexington and Concord, a military company was formed and armed with weapons taken from the arsenal; cannons were collected and measures taken for the protection of the city. In May, the provincial congress directed the enlistment of four regiments and the erection of fortifications. General Wooster, with a Connecticut regiment, took up position at Harlem, while Colonel Hinman with another Connecticut regiment was stationed at Ticonderoga. In the following month, the British garrison at New York, under orders to join the army in Boston, marched down Broad Street, preceded by

The Inner Wheel

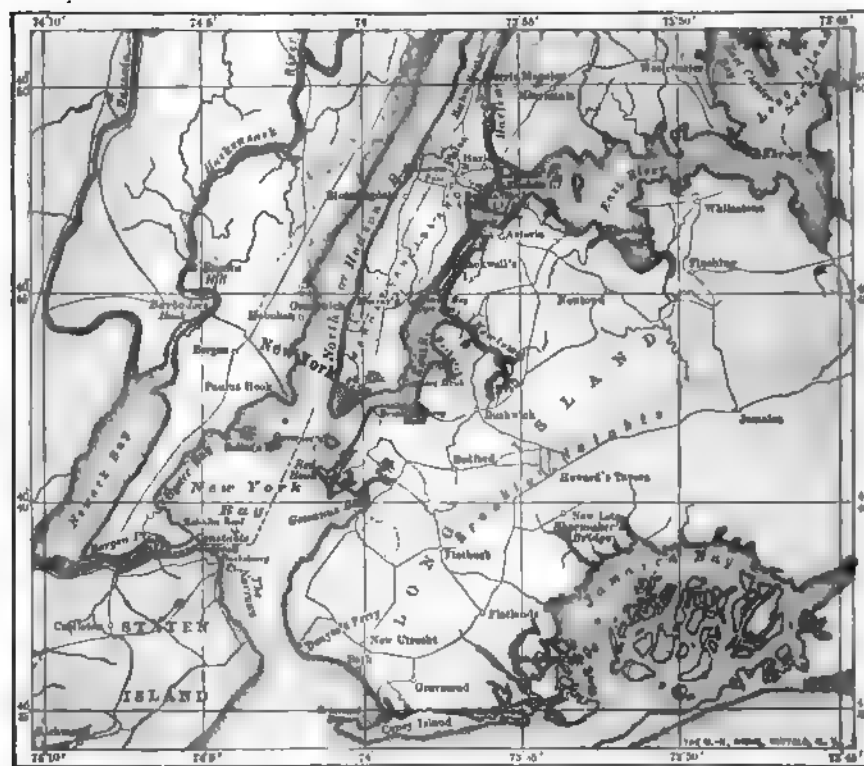


June 6

Marinus Willett

1 7 7 5 five carts loaded with arms. Sons of Liberty gathered quickly and one of them, Marinus Willett, seized the foremost horse by the bridle and halted the column. The carts were led from the line of march and the troops went on without them. Late in August, the provincial congress ordered that the Battery be dismantled. In spite of the fire from the British ship of war, "Asia," the mounted guns were removed. A few months later, the unmounted guns were carried off by General Lee without opposition.

**Watching
the Tories** Though most of its members were still opposed to independence, the provincial congress took active steps to prevent the Tories from aiding the British army. In August, it resolved that any person guilty of giving assist-



Topographical Map of New York and Vicinity

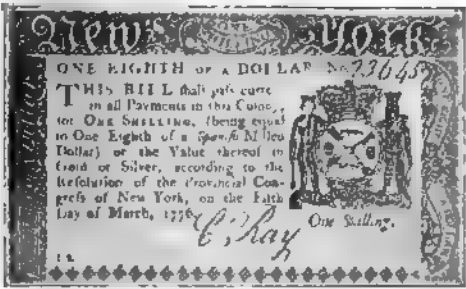
ance to the enemy should be punished by the local committee. In September, it ordered that the arms of those who had not sworn allegiance to the patriot cause should be seized and the orders were zealously carried out by the local committees. In May, 1776, a crusade was begun against Queens County, one of the chief strongholds of loyalism, "and until midsummer the loyalists were harried by the Whig militia, seized and sent to neighboring states on parole, or imprisoned at home." There was a fear that an attack would soon be made upon the colony from without and it was felt that internal enemies must be suppressed.

Early in 1776, General Charles Lee arrived and, in spite of a jealous missive from the committee of safety who requested that his Connecticut troops should not pass the border until the purpose of their coming was made known, entered the city just as Sir Henry Clinton sailed into the harbor with a British squadron that had been detached from the fleet at Boston. A week later, Clinton's squadron sailed southward. Lee soon saw that it would be difficult

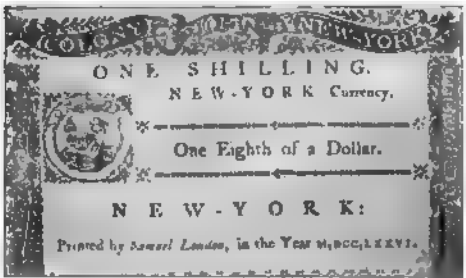
so to fortify the city as to make it safe from attack by sea, but he proposed to make it a "disputable field of battle" to the end that if it must be given up its capture should be as costly to the enemy as possible. He therefore strengthened the works at the lower end of the

1 7 7 5
1 7 7 6

Fortifying
the City



February 4



New York Currency, Issue of March 5, 1776

~ Lee

IN CONGRESS.

The DELEGATES of the UNITED COLONIES of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, the Counties of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, in Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, &c.

The Right Honorable William Stirling Earl of Stirling

WE reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity,

DO by these Presents, constitute and appoint you to be

Brigadier General.

Numb: Five,

in the Army of the United Colonies raised for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile Invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of *Brigadier*

General by doing and performing all Manner of Things therunto belonging. And we do strictly

charge and require all Officers and Soldiers under your Command, to be obedient to your Orders as

Brigadier General. And you are to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from

Time to Time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United Colonies, or Committee

of Congress, for that Purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief for the Time being of the Army of

the United Colonies, or any other your superior Officer, according to the Rules and Discipline of War,

in Pursuance of the Trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in Force until revoked by this

or a future Congress. *Philadelphia March 11th 1776*

Attest.

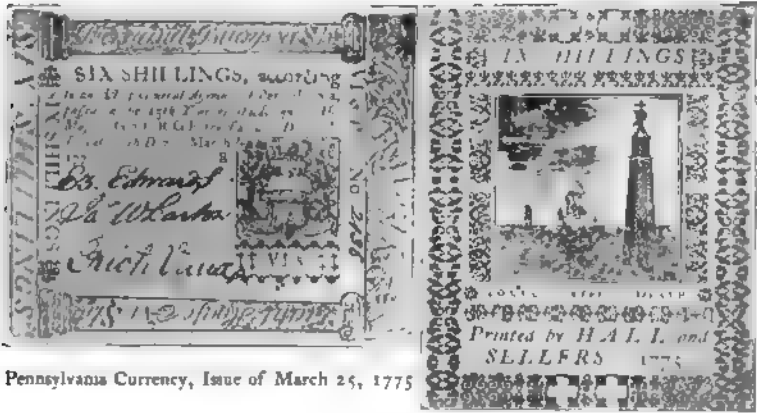
John Hancock
By Order of the Congress

PRESIDENT.

island, began an intrenched camp on Brooklyn Heights from which his guns could sweep the channel or bombard the city, and built a fort at Horn's Hook opposite Hell Gate to guard the approach from the sound. In March, congress sent Lee southward to watch Clinton, and Lord Stirling (William Alexander) took up the work of fortifying the city. On the fourth of April, Washington left Cambridge; on the thirteenth, he reached New York where he anxiously awaited an attack by the British forces.

In Pennsylvania, also, there was a strong Tory sentiment, particularly among the Quakers. In January, 1775, the Quaker yearly meeting at Philadelphia passed

In the Quaker Province



Pennsylvania Currency, Issue of March 25, 1775

a resolution calling upon its members "to unite in abhorrence of every measure and writing" that tended "to break off the happy connection of the colonies with the mother country, or to interrupt their just subordination to the king." At this time, even John Dickinson, the able author of the "Letters of a Farmer," trembled as he thought of the future that a separation from England might bring. Moreover, the powerful proprietary interest resisted any such change. These elements constituted so compact and powerful a body of conservatism that the Pennsylvania assembly enjoined its delegates in the continental congress to "dissent from and utterly

November 9, 1775

1775 reject any propositions, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from our Mother Country, or a change of the form of this government." But the patriot minority made up in aggressiveness what it lacked in numbers, and the continental congress at Philadelphia interested the people and gradually won sympathy for the American cause.

In
New Jersey

The Quaker influence was strong in New Jersey and Delaware also. In 1762, William Franklin had been appointed royal governor of New Jersey. Although he was a son of Benjamin Franklin, he remained firm in his loyalty to Great Britain and was unpopular as much by reason of his time-serving conduct and courtier-like propensities as on account of his illegitimate birth. Under his lead, the assembly disclaimed the idea of inde-

November 28

pendence and instructed its delegates to the continental congress in language almost identical with that of Pennsylvania quoted in the paragraph above. The assembly also resolved on a separate petition to the king, and the continental congress sent John Dickinson, John Jay, and George Wythe to secure a reversal of that determination. Under the influence of this illustrious trio, the New Jersey legislators yielded. The assembly was soon prorogued and a provincial congress that was pledged to abide by the decisions of the continental congress came into being. Some of the governor's letters were intercepted and found to contain expressions so "unpatriotic" that the new government declared him an enemy to his country and put him under guard.

January, 1776

In Delaware

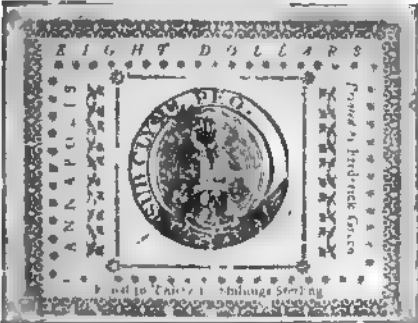
In Delaware, public feeling was much like that of Pennsylvania with which the "three lower counties" were intimately connected. As late as the twenty-second of March, 1776, the assembly instructed its delegates in the continental congress to join in the military operations necessary for the common defense but to "avoid and discourage any separate treaty" and to aim at reconciliation. In short, at this time, the four middle colonies "were arrayed in solid phalanx against the measure of independence."

In Maryland, the proprietary rule had been mild, the people were prosperous and happy, and Sir Robert Eden, who had succeeded Horatio Sharpe, was more moderate than any other of the royal governors. Largely because of Eden's course, the Maryland patriots "hoped and

labored for conciliation long after the other colonies had given up all idea of it." After the wrath of England had descended upon Massachusetts in the shape of the Boston port act, ninety-two delegates from the counties met in convention at Annapolis. Gradually, the power and scope of the convention widened, but the disposition to temporize was so strong that when the members of the committee of the newly created Harford County signed a declaration heartily approving the resolves and the association of the continental congress and added: "We do most Solemnly pledge ourselves to Each other & to our Country and Engage ourselves by Every Tie held Sacred among Mankind to perform the Same at the Risque of Our Lives & fortunes," the convention dissolved the committee. If we could admit the claim that this patriotic pledge was a real declaration of independence, it would be important to emphasize the fact that Harford County flung out her flag before a gun was fired at Lexington and got into line more than sixty days ahead of Mecklenburg. As a matter of fact, there were numerous such outbursts



June 22, 1774 ✓



March 22, 1775 ✓

Maryland Currency, Issue of December 7, 1775

1775 of defiance, none of which can be given rank as "the
1776 first declaration."

The
Provincial
Convention

On the twenty-sixth of July, 1775, the convention formally took the government of the province into its hands. In December, it entered on its journals a "declaration" that the people of that province "never did nor do entertain any views or desires of independency." When the continental congress ordered the arrest of Governor Eden, the Maryland council of safety interfered and forbade it and the Maryland convention approved the proceedings of the council. But when the governor ordered the election of a new assembly, the convention met before the writs were returnable and forbade the election. On the day before the convention issued this veto, Governor Eden left the province on board a British frigate.

June 25,
1776

In the Old
Dominion

The earl of Dunmore, royal governor of Virginia, had dissolved the assembly in May, 1774, for having resolved to keep the first of June, the day on which the Boston port act was to go into effect, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1775, Patrick Henry moved in the Virginia convention that the province be put immediately in a state of defense and supported the motion in a speech of rare eloquence. On the twenty-first of April, Dunmore removed the powder from the magazine at Williams-



Powder Magazine at Williamsburg, Virginia

burg to an armed vessel. Under the stimulus of the news from Lexington, Henry gathered some of the

volunteers that the convention had directed to be organized in each county and compelled the governor to make restitution—the first armed resistance to royal authority in Virginia. Dunmore, fearing for his safety, sent his family on shipboard, fortified his mansion, and proclaimed Henry and his associates as rebels. In June, he joined his family. The house of burgesses, convoked to consider North's conciliatory resolution, asked him to return and, on his refusal, ceased to hold further official intercourse with him.

Dunmore soon had a fleet at his command and undertook to bring Virginia to terms. The little port of Hampton was blockaded and, on the twenty-sixth of October, tenders from the war-ships were sent into Hampton Roads to burn the town; the town guard fired on the boats and the British were driven back without making a landing. That night, the Culpeper riflemen hurried into Hampton. On the following day, the British made another attempt and the riflemen killed a few, wounded more, and captured seven. In November, Dunmore took possession of Norfolk, then the principal port in Virginia, and thence issued a proclamation declaring martial law and offering freedom to all slaves and indented servants of rebels who would enlist under his banner. He authorized the raising of "Lord Dunmore's own Regiment of Indians" and of another regiment to be known as "Lord Dunmore's Ethiopian." On the ninth of December, the loyalist force was totally defeated at Great Bridge, near Norfolk, by provincial troops among whom were the Culpeper minutemen. One of the lieutenants of this company was John Marshall, afterwards chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States.

The report of the affair at Great Bridge greatly angered the royal governor who abandoned Norfolk and hastened on board his fleet. A few days later, Robert Howe of North Carolina took command of the "rebels" and occupied the town, and Dunmore prepared to carry out the instructions framed for the guidance of an English armed force in such a case. On New Year's

1775

Open
Rebellion

Norfolk
Burned

more I. 179

1 7 7 5 day, 1776, about the middle of the afternoon, the fleet
 1 7 7 6 began to cannonade the town and sailors were sent to fire
 the warehouses on the wharves and a brig at the dock.
 The conflagration continued for three days, at the end of
 which time nearly all the buildings had been burned.
 The part that escaped was presently burned by the provin-
 cials to prevent it from becoming a shelter to the
 enemy. Thus was destroyed "the best of the towns in
 England's oldest and most loyal colony." Washington
 expressed the hope that the fate of Norfolk "will unite
 the whole country in one indissoluble band."

The End of
 Royal Rule
 in Virginia

Far from intimidating the Virginians, this event only
 rendered them the more determined. The two regiments
 already in service were increased and new ones were
 ordered raised. On the sixth of May, forty-five members
 of the house of burgesses met at Williamsburg and, alleging
 that the ancient constitution had been subverted, dissolved
 themselves; "thus the last vestige of the king's authority
 passed away." On the same day, a constituent assem-
 bly, composed of elected delegates, held its first session.

In North
 Carolina

August 20-
 25, 1774

Tryon, the governor of North Carolina, had been suc-
 ceeded in 1771 by Josiah Martin, a plain, honest man
 without tact. Martin tried to prevent the sending of
 representatives to the first continental congress, but, in
 spite of him, a convention met at Newbern, appointed
 delegates, and passed radical resolutions. From that
 time, the provincial congress and committees of safety
 gradually assumed governmental authority. Thus, in
 1775, the committee for Rowan County urged the militia
 captains to prepare for war, seized all the gunpowder that
 they could find, and resolved "to rouse like one Man in
 Defense of our religion from Popery, our Liberty from
 Slavery and our Lives from Tormenting Death." When
 the governor issued writs for a new legislature, Colonel
 John Harvey, in behalf of the popular party, issued a
 call for a new convention. The legislature met, but on
 the fifth day of its session, the governor dissolved it and
 thus brought to an end the last legislative body that ever
 sat in North Carolina under royal rule. The convention

April 8, 1775

also met and approved the proceedings of the continental congress. Toward the end of May, Martin sent his family to New York and transferred his headquarters to Fort Johnston on the Cape Fear River. In July, the fort was destroyed and the governor driven to the "Cruiser," British sloop of war. For the rest of the year, Martin's official residence was on shipboard. In August, the provincial congress, in session at Hillsboro, resolved "that the people of this province, singly and collectively, are bound by the Acts and resolutions of the Continental and Provincial Congresses, because in both they are freely represented by persons chosen by themselves; And we do solemnly and sincerely engage, under the Sanction of virtue, honor and Sacred Love of Liberty, and our Country, to maintain and support all and every the Acts, Resolutions and Regulations of the said Continental and Provincial Congresses, to the utmost of our power and Abilities." In September, this provincial congress created a provincial council of thirteen members with power to take such action as they shall "judge expedient to strengthen, secure and defend the colony" during the recess of the congress.

In this period occurred an event around which has developed one of the bitterest controversies in American history. As nearly as I can determine, the leading facts are as follows: The North Carolina convention of August, 1774, had advised the several counties to constitute committees to carry out the plans of the general congress, and thirty-six of the counties had chosen such committees. On the thirty-first of May, 1775, the Mecklenburg committee met at Charlotte and adopted a preamble and nineteen resolves, declaring, among other things, that each provincial congress, "under the direction of the Great Continental Congress, is invested with all legislative and executive Powers within their respective Provinces," and that this state of affairs should continue until the "General Congress" should provide otherwise, "or the Legislative Body of Great Britain resign its unjust and arbitrary Pretensions with respect to America."

1 7 7 5
August 23
The Mecklenburg Resolutions

? What "general" congress?

"Declaration" is more radical than is that of the resolutions of the thirty-first and, in some of its phrases, is suspiciously like the corresponding parts of the declaration adopted at Philadelphia in July, 1776. Jefferson resented the implication of plagiarism and declared the "Mecklenburg Declaration" to be an "unjustifiable quiz." Frothingham and others were unable to find any contemporary reference, in manuscript or in print, to such a convention or public meeting, and critical students of American history generally refuse to accept the "Mecklenburg Declaration" as authentic. It is probable that, in attempting to reproduce the lost resolutions of the thirty-first of May, Mr. Alexander unconsciously changed the dates and wrote into his draft words made familiar to him and us by Jefferson's immortal document. In the bitterness of the controversy, it has been too generally overlooked that the authenticity of the resolves of the thirty-first is unquestioned and that they breathed a spirit of defiance that made them little less than a real declaration of independence.

Unwilling to give up his authority without another effort, Governor Martin stirred up the loyal elements in the province and asked for arms and troops from England. Both were sent, but before the troops arrived, matters came to a head. On the tenth of January, 1776, Martin issued orders for the erection of the king's standard, and a large force of Highlanders and other loyalists assembled under the command of "Brigadier General Donald Macdonald, of his Majesty's forces for the time being in North Carolina." On the twenty-seventh of February, Macdonald attacked a force of about a thousand minutemen and militia under Colonels Caswell and Lillington at Moore's Creek Bridge, but was defeated and captured with many of his men. Together with Clinton's menace, the affair at Moore's Creek Bridge put ten thousand armed men in the field within a fortnight; the province was not again seriously disturbed by a hostile armed force until the coming of Cornwallis in 1780. When, a few weeks later, General Clinton and

The
Lexington and
Concord of
North
Carolina

2/27/'76

✓

358 Temper of Middle and Southern Colonies

1 7 7 5 Sir Peter Parker arrived off the coast with the expected assistance, they thought it best to turn to South Carolina.

April-May

We have already seen that South Carolina was but little behind Massachusetts in its resistance to the tea duty and that it responded promptly to the call of the Boston port act. But Lieutenant-governor William Bull had thrown personal and official influence against the patriot agitation, and only by clever tactics had the commons house of assembly been able to provide for the expenses of the delegates to the second continental congress. In January, 1775, a provincial congress was organized and at once assumed direction of the popular movement. By April, 1775, the contributions of South Carolina for the relief of Boston were greater than those of any other colony.

In South
Carolina

August, 1774

A Calm
Committee

In April, the provincial congress created a committee of five persons "to procure and distribute such articles as the present insecure state of the interior parts of this colony renders necessary for the better defence and security of the good people of those parts, and other necessary purposes." Under this elastic charter, the committee promptly seized the powder and arms in and near Charles Town. The lieutenant-governor called the attention of the commons house of assembly to the matter and the house gravely received a report "that with all the inquiry your committee have made, they are not able to obtain any certain intelligence relative to the removal of the public arms and gunpowder as mentioned in his Honor's message; but think that there is reason to suppose that some of the inhabitants of this colony may have been induced to take so extraordinary and uncommon a step in consequence of the late alarming accounts from Great Britain."

Governor
Campbell

On the fourth of June, the members of the provincial congress entered into an association for defense "against every foe," declaring that all persons who refused to join with them should be regarded as "inimical to the liberties of the colonies." Two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a million of money were voted, and a coun-

cil of safety for the general direction of affairs was appointed. Lord William Campbell soon arrived as royal governor of South Carolina, thus ending the official career of Lieutenant-governor Bull. Bull soon went to England where he died in 1791. Lord Campbell was the youngest son of the duke of Argyle and, in 1763, had married a native of the province to which he now was sent.

Campbell's official career was brief. When he landed in Charles Town, on the eighteenth of June, he was formally received by the militia and a few officials, but the citizens as a whole gave him no welcome. Active military preparations continued, several vessels carrying powder were seized, and the powder was appropriated. On the eleventh of August, a gunner at Fort Johnson was tarred and feathered and carted through the town; it was even suggested that the governor himself be seized. In September, it was learned that British troops were expected and provincial troops occupied Fort Johnson. Campbell at once issued a proclamation dissolving the commons house of assembly and took refuge on board the sloop of war "Tamar," carrying with him the great seal of the province.

Just then, the sloop of war "Cherokee" arrived at the harbor. The two British vessels made a demonstration against Fort Johnson but did not attack it. The provincial congress met on the first of November and, on the ninth, directed the commandant at the fort to use every means in his power to prevent the passage of British armed vessels. Two days later, a short but brisk engagement took place between the "Defence," a schooner that the patriots had armed, and the "Tamar," but without material injury to either vessel. This action of the eleventh of November marked the beginning of hostilities in South Carolina. On the nineteenth of December, a battery was erected on Haddrell Point. This forced the war-ships to fall back opposite Sullivan Island, on which a new fortress was soon begun. Governor Campbell then sailed for Jamaica. The patriot party was triumphant, but new clouds were gathering.

1775
June 18

South
Carolina
Troops
Occupy
Fort Johnson

Hostilities
Begun

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1 7 7 5 A British armament was on its way and a new war with
1 7 7 6 the Cherokees was about to break.

Rutledge and
Drayton

March 26,
1776

By authority of the continental congress, the South Carolina provincial congress, not a truly representative body, adopted a "constitution" for temporary use until the dispute with the mother country could be adjusted. This "constitution" intrusted executive and military powers to a president and commander-in-chief, transformed the congress into the "General Assembly of South Carolina" which was to continue until its successor was elected in the following October, and instituted a legislative council to be chosen by the assembly. John Rutledge, a man of great energy and ability, was chosen as president and commander-in-chief, and William Henry Drayton as chief-justice. In the following month, Drayton charged the grand jury at Charles Town: "The law of the land authorizes me to declare, and it is my duty boldly to declare the law, that George III., king of Great Britain, has abdicated the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant, that is, he has no authority over us, and we owe no obedience to him."

April 23

Way Down
in Georgia

In Georgia, first as lieutenant-governor, and then as governor, Sir James Wright had administered affairs since 1760. The colony was not represented in the first continental congress, and the first choice of delegates to the second congress was made in a manner not truly representative. But by the spring of 1775, the patriot party began to make itself felt. Six hundred pounds of powder were taken from the magazine at Savannah, a council of safety was appointed, and a ship carrying two hundred and fifty barrels of powder was seized. On the sixth of July, the provincial congress adopted the "association" and, on the seventh, chose, in a formal manner, delegates to the congress at Philadelphia. Governmental authority now passed into the hands of the provincial congress. Upon the appearance of British ships at Tybee, the governor was seized and confined to his house by a party of volunteers led by James Habersham and acting under authority of the committee of safety. In the following

June 22, 1775

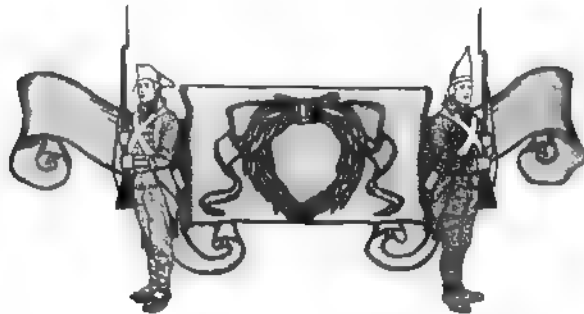
July 10

January 18,
1776

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month, Wright escaped to the "Scarborough" whence he reported that Georgia was "totally under the influence of the Carolina people." A projected attack on Savannah failed and Wright returned to England. Other crown officials either fled or were seized by the patriots. A temporary constitution that the provincial congress had framed in January was adopted on the fifteenth of April and Archibald Bulloch was chosen president and commander-in-chief.

The situation at the end of 1775 may be outlined as follows: The British were closely invested at Boston; Washington was steadily transforming his volunteers into a continental army, collecting supplies, and preparing for active operations in the spring; Montgomery and Arnold had met with disastrous defeat in Canada and the suffering survivors of their army were in peril. But from Maine to Georgia the people were demanding redress of grievances and preparing to fight if driven to that extremity. Trade, commerce, and industry were disorganized and legal government was at a standstill. In every colony, revolutionary organizations had sprung into existence and assumed control of affairs, expecting and receiving obedience and support. The continental congress at Philadelphia was slowly framing a national government. What was to be the outcome of it all no one knew and many hardly dared to think. Only one thing was certain; no matter how serious the crisis, the Americans would not yield and, if concession came at all, it must come from Great Britain. That there would be such concession, few who knew the temper of the governing class in Great Britain believed.





C H A P T E R X X I

THE FIRST ATTEMPT UPON THE SOUTH

Gubernatorial
Advice

✓ **I**N October, 1775, the British government resolved to send out an expedition to subjugate the southern colonies. "Let it not be entirely forgot," wrote Governor Campbell of South Carolina, "that the king has dominions in this part of America. What defence can they make? Three regiments, a proper detachment of artillery, with a couple of good frigates, some small craft, and a bomb ketch, would do the whole business here, and go a great way to reduce Georgia and North Carolina to a sense of their duty. Charleston is the fountain head from whence all violence flows; stop that, and the rebellion in this part of the continent will soon be at an end." Governor Martin of North Carolina had already promised that with arms, artillery, ammunition, money, a military commission for himself, and two regiments he would, with the aid of the Highlanders and other loyalists, recover every colony south of Pennsylvania.

Parker and
Cornwallis

In the following winter, a fleet of forty-three sail and a force of about twenty-five hundred men were gathered at Cork under Sir Peter Parker and Lord Charles Cornwallis, earl and lieutenant-general. On the thirteenth of February, the fleet put to sea, but a storm drove many of the vessels back. After a long delay and a tempestuous voyage, the fleet reached the coast of the Carolinas in May.

Clinton Sent
to the South

Meanwhile, Sir Henry Clinton was sent southward with part of the British squadron at Boston. On the fourth of February, he appeared in the harbor of New

York. If Clinton had any designs upon the city, which he probably did not, they were frustrated by the arrival, on the same day, of a force of Connecticut militia under General Charles Lee. While in the harbor, Clinton met the two Carolina governors who seem to have come northward for that purpose. Taking Campbell and Martin with him, Clinton cruised southward, touching at Norfolk. At Cape Fear, he awaited the arrival of Parker and Cornwallis. The first active operations were to have been in North Carolina; that part of the plan was wrecked by the rout of the Highlanders at Moore's Creek Bridge. While waiting, Clinton therefore confined himself to sending out reconnoitering parties, one of which captured a small fort at Brunswick, fifteen miles up the river.

Parker's fleet arrived at Cape Fear on the third of May. Clinton now received instructions to proclaim pardon to all but "the principal instigators of the rebellion, to dissolve provincial congresses and committees of safety, to restore the regular administration of justice, to arrest the persons and destroy the property of all who should refuse to give satisfactory tests of their obedience." He was, at his own discretion, to proceed to Virginia or to South Carolina, "to seize the persons and destroy the property of rebels;" if to Carolina, he was first to reduce Charles Town as a prelude to an attack on Savannah. Yielding to the solicitations of Lord Campbell, he decided to make his first attempt on Charles Town.

After General Lee's seeming success in foiling Clinton at New York, he had been selected by congress for the command in Canada, but this arrangement was soon revoked and Lee was put in command of the newly created southern department that included all the colonies south of Maryland. Lee set out from New York on the seventh of March, but he journeyed so leisurely that the enemy would have met with little resistance had not the South Carolinians been active in their own behalf. In May he was in Virginia, "ridding the country of tories and trying to find out where Parker intended to land." By early June he was in command at Charles Town.

1 7 7 6

February 11

Clinton's
Instructions

Lee is Sent
South

1776

Charles Town
Harbor

Charles Town was by nature admirably fitted for defense. Then as now, the coast was fringed by a series of low, sandy islands, on the interior side of which lay an impassable labyrinth of salt marshes and narrow serpentine creeks. Two of these islands, Sullivan and Morris, form natural fortresses for the harbor, and have become famous in the annals of warfare. Sullivan Island, on the north side of the entrance to the harbor, is about four miles in length and is separated from Long Island at the northeastward by a narrow inlet said to have been, at that time, ordinarily fordable at low water. On Sullivan Island, Fort Sullivan had been begun as early as the preceding January, and defensive works had been undertaken at other strategic points.

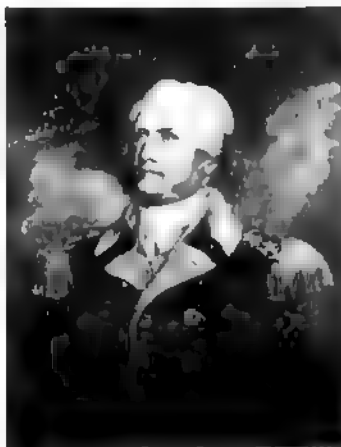
General Lee
at Charles
Town

On the thirty-first of May, President Rutledge learned that a large fleet of British vessels had been seen about twenty miles north of Charles Town bar. He at once ordered out the militia, visited the fortifications with General Armstrong whom congress had sent down from Pennsylvania, and took every possible step to insure a good defense. Five days later, General Lee arrived. According to the reputation that had preceded him, Lee was a military genius. He had, indeed, had much experience. He had a commission in the British army at the age of eleven and had fought in America, Portugal, Poland, and elsewhere. "The soldier whom the Mohawk warriors had admitted to smoke in their councils and had adopted under an Indian name signifying 'Boiling Water,' who had served in the famous campaigns of Europe, commanded Cossacks, fought with Turks, talked with Frederick the Great, and had been aide-de-camp to the King of Poland, could not but be regarded as a prodigious acquisition to the patriot cause." In fact, he was a man of brilliant talents and his presence did much to excite the public ardor, being worth, says Moultrie in his *Memoirs*, a reinforcement of a thousand men. Unfortunately, he was meddlesome, vain, and egotistical, and far more anxious for his own glory than for the interests of the cause he served.

Lee at first disapproved of the plan for defending Sullivan Island. He declared that the unfinished fort "could not hold out half an hour;" and "that the platform was but a slaughtering stage." He wished to abandon the island entirely, but Rutledge refused to consent to that, declaring that he would cut off his right arm before he would give such an order. The fort in question was square, with a bastion at each angle, and was intended for a garrison of about a thousand men. It was built of soft palmetto logs, laid one upon the other in two parallel rows about sixteen feet apart, "bound together at intervals with timber dovetailed and bolted with logs," thereby forming a series of pens that were filled with sand. Only the southeast and southwest curtains and bastions had been finished. Elsewhere, but little work had been done. It mounted thirty-one cannons, including a number of 18- and 26-pounders. The troops intended for its defense numbered four hundred and thirty-five men, of whom thirty-six were sick and unfit for duty.

The fort was in command of Colonel William Moultrie, a veteran of the Cherokee war. Of easy manners and careless disposition, he was a poor disciplinarian and lacked the soldierly characteristics of promptness and punctuality. He neglected, for example, to obey General Lee's

repeated orders to construct a flèche and screens to protect the garrison from an enfilading fire from any vessels that might succeed in penetrating to the harbor. Notwithstanding these defects of temperament, he was



Colonel
Moultrie

Will. Moultrie

1 7 7 6 an able and gallant officer in action, possessed indomitable spirit, and had an easy confidence that now proved to be of the highest value.

Other
Defenses

But Fort Sullivan was not the sole reliance of the South Carolina patriots. Fortifications were constructed on the southern side of the harbor, on Haddrell Point, on James Island, and elsewhere. Stores and warehouses along the wharves were torn down so as not to interfere with the fire from the line of earthworks along East Bay, window-weights were cast into musket-balls, the streets were barricaded, and a force of about six thousand five hundred men, including two regiments from North Carolina, was collected to oppose the enemy.

Clinton's
Plan

On the seventh of June, the British frigates crossed the bar and anchored in what was known as Five Fathom Hole. On the next day, a proclamation was sent in by a flag of truce warning the people of the miseries of civil war, exhorting them to return to their allegiance, and promising free pardon to all who should submit. On the tenth, the flagship "Bristol," after considerable difficulty, got over the bar and was soon joined by the remainder of the fleet. About three thousand soldiers and marines were then landed on Long Island, it being Clinton's intention thence to pass the inlet to Sullivan Island and to take the fort from the rear. To guard against this danger, the American engineer, Captain De Brahme, had erected breastworks on the northeastern point of Sullivan Island. These works mounted two cannons and were defended by about seven hundred and eighty men under Colonel Thomson.

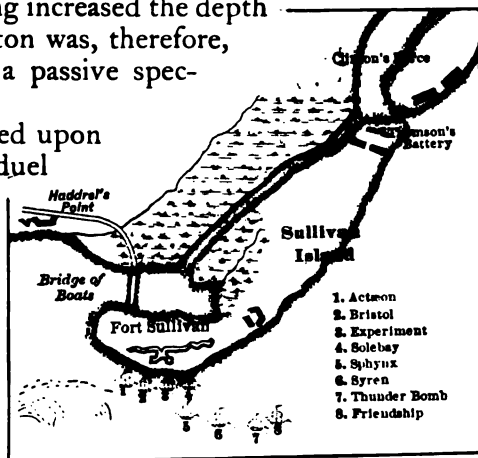
The Attack
on Fort
Sullivan

On the twenty-eighth of June, the British fleet, excepting the "Thunder Bomb" and a vessel left to guard it, sailed within easy range of the fort whereupon the garrison opened fire. The vessels anchored in two lines and began a heavy bombardment. Meanwhile, Clinton, with two thousand regulars and six or seven hundred boatmen and marines, marched down Long Island flanked on the right by a schooner and a sloop and on the left by a flotilla of armed boats from the fleet.

But Thomson's two cannons drove back the flotilla and Clinton's men found that the inlet was impassable, easterly winds having increased the depth of the water. Clinton was, therefore, obliged to remain a passive spectator of the battle.

All now depended upon the outcome of the duel

between the fleet and the fort. The British poured in frightful broadsides, but their shot did little injury to the soft, spongy palmetto logs, while the 13-inch shells from the



Pounding
the Fleet

The Attack on Sullivan Island

bomb-vessel a mile and a half away fell into a morass within the fort or into the loose sand and did little damage. About twelve o'clock, three of the smaller vessels attempted to take up a position nearer the cove of Sullivan Island for the purpose of enfilading the front platforms and cutting off communication between the island and the mainland. Owing to Moultrie's failure to carry out Lee's order, this maneuver would, if successful, have resulted in inevitable disaster for the Americans. But the three vessels ran upon the shoal on which Fort Sumter stands. Two of them succeeded in getting off but gave up their attempt, while the third, the "Actæon" of twenty-eight guns, stuck fast. Meanwhile, the remaining vessels, especially the largest two at which, by Moultrie's orders, the Americans directed most of their fire, were in sore distress. Early in the action, the spring of the "Bristol's" cable was shot away and the flagship swung into such a position that she was raked fore and aft. At one time, her quarter-deck "was cleared of every person but the Commodore;" her captain was mortally wounded, Parker himself was injured, and more than a

1 7 7 6 hundred men were killed or wounded. The loss on board the "Experiment" was almost as great.

In the Fort

The garrison of the fort did not escape unharmed. A number were killed and wounded and the heavy broadsides sometimes made the slight fortification tremble to its foundations. When the flag-staff was shot away and the flag fell outside the fort, Sergeant Jasper, under a heavy fire, leaped down from an embrasure, recovered the flag, and, after fixing it to a sponge-staff, planted it once more upon the merlon. Ammunition began to fail and Moultrie was reduced to firing his guns at intervals of ten minutes, but, within an hour, Rutledge sent five hundred pounds with a note wishing "Honor and Victory" to Moultrie and "our worthy countrymen with you," and adding: "Do not make too free with your cannon." About the same time, General Lee arrived at the fort and aimed two or three cannons, but, after remaining about a quarter of an hour, withdrew, saying to Moultrie: "I see you are doing very well here—you have no occasion for me—I will go up to town again." In his *Memoirs*, Moultrie says: "We opened our temporary gate to admit General Lee. Several of the officers as well as myself were smoking our pipes and giving orders; but we laid them down when he came in." Of the incident, Lee later wrote: "I had no idea that so much coolness and intrepidity could be displayed by a collection of raw recruits as I was witness to."

Fort Moultrie

Toward sunset, the firing slackened and, at about half-past nine o'clock, it ceased altogether. About eleven o'clock, the British fleet, with the exception of the "Actæon" which was still aground, returned to their former anchorage. In the following morning, the "Actæon" was fired and deserted by her crew. Men from the fort boarded her, loaded their boats from her stores, fired British guns at British ships from the deck of a burning British vessel, and withdrew in safety. When, a few minutes later, the magazine exploded, the pillar of smoke took the form of the palmetto—at least some Carolinians thought it did. The British loss was more than two hundred

men; that of the Americans was twelve killed and twenty-five wounded. The victorious heroes were not forgotten. On the thirtieth of June, the garrison was reviewed and praised by Lee and, on the same day, the second regiment received a richly embroidered pair of silken colors from the women of Charles Town. Four days later, while the continental congress was considering the momentous declaration, Rutledge visited the garrison and, taking a sword from his own belt, presented it to Sergeant Jasper. When congress heard the news, it voted thanks to Lee, Moultrie, Thomson, and the officers and men under their command, while "South Carolina, by her president and common voice, spontaneously decreed that the post on Sullivan's Island should, for all future time, be known as Fort Moultrie."

Thus ended what was unquestionably one of the most important and decisive battles of the war. Says Bancroft: It saved not a post, but the state. It kept seven regiments away from New York for two months; it gave security to Georgia, and three years' peace to Carolina; it dispelled throughout the South the dread of British superiority; it drove the loyalists into obscurity. After lingering off the coast for several weeks, the British forces sailed northward in transports under convoy of a single frigate, "the rest of the fleet being under the necessity of remaining still longer to refit." In London, *Sir Peter Parker's New War Song* was published:

For the rebels and I
Have been pretty nigh,
Faith, almost too nigh for Sir Peter.





CHAPTER XXI

I N D E P E N D E N C E

Lest We
Forget

WHILE the American revolution had long been inevitable, it did not spring from a desire to separate from Great Britain. Despite their independence of spirit, the colonists had a deep reverence and a sincere love for the British empire, they rejoiced in its power and glory, they looked to it for aid and protection—as much then as do Australia and Canada today. Though they rebelled, it was to safeguard their rights as Englishmen, not because they wished to found an independent state. They had fought, but only to preserve the rights and privileges to which, “by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the *English* Constitution, and the several Charters or Compacts” they were entitled.

Speculative
Prophecy

Long before the colonists took up arms, there had been prophecies to the effect that, owing to the distance between England and America and to diverging interests, the colonies would one day throw off their allegiance; we sometimes hear such prophecies regarding the present British colonies. As early as 1705, there appeared in an English print the prediction that “The colonists will, in process of time, cast off their allegiance to England and set up a government of their own.” Jeremiah Dummer, the defender of the second Massachusetts charter, heard English noblemen say that, if not crushed, the colonies would in time declare their independence. In 1750, Turgot, the great French statesman and philosopher, said: “Colonies are like fruits which cling to the tree

only till they ripen, as soon as America can take care of itself, it will do what Carthage did." Ten years later, Thomas Pownall expressed the opinion that the independence of the colonies was near at hand. Such expressions were, however, mere speculations based upon the seeming natural course of events. 1 7 7 5

Prior to the fateful Lexington and Concord day, there was hardly a man of prominence in America who desired or expected a separation from England. The testimony to this effect is overwhelming. Hutchinson, the Tory historian of Massachusetts, wrote: "An empire, separate or distinct from Britain, no man then [1758] alive expected or desired to see." In October, 1774, Washington wrote that "no such thing is desired by any thinking man in all North America." In the following March, Franklin assured the earl of Chatham that he had never "heard in any Conversation from any Person, drunk or sober, the least Expression of a wish for a Separation, or a Hint that such a Thing would be advantageous to America." Thirty-seven days before the war began, John Adams pronounced the assertion that the inhabitants panted after independence "as great a slander on the province as ever was committed to writing." Years after the conflict was over, Thomas Jefferson declared that before the nineteenth of April, 1775, "I never had heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain." Cumulative Testimony

Even after blood had been spilled on Lexington Green, there was no immediate general movement in favor of independence. Some began to see that that was the only logical outcome of the struggle, but the vast majority still looked forward to reconciliation. The question began to be more and more discussed, but few were bold enough openly to declare their desire for a separation. After Lexington and Concord, Joseph Warren said: "The next news from England must be conciliatory, or the connection between us ends." After Bunker Hill, Franklin wrote to an English friend: "It has been with much difficulty that we have carried The Dawn of the Great Idea July 7 ✓

1 7 7 5 another humble petition to the Crown, to give Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think
 ✓ she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them forever." On the other hand, most of the expressions on the subject, during the spring, summer, and fall of 1775, were decidedly against separation. Even after Bunker Hill, Jefferson wrote: "We mean not to dissolve that union; . . . necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure."

The Morning
Mists

Declarations expressing abhorrence of the idea of independence were made by many town-meetings and many committees of correspondence in various parts of the country. In some of the most violent rebel communities expressions in favor of separation were regarded with extreme disfavor and measures were taken for suppressing them. In May, 1775, some of the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia warned John Adams against saying anything in favor of independence, assuring him that the doctrine was as unpopular in the middle states as the stamp act itself. Hundreds of resolutions avowing the necessity of maintaining liberty and the rights of Englishmen were being passed, but the time for resolutions in favor of separation had not yet come. When the continental congress met in May, 1775, reconciliation was still hoped for, as is shown by the instructions to the delegates and by the second petition to the king. Lists of the cannons and public stores belonging to the king were drawn up in order that they, or their equivalent, might be returned when peace was established. Prayers for the good health of the king were still offered in churches and by the chaplains of the rebel army. It is related that the continental troops besieging Boston were so noisy in their celebration of the king's birthday that the British prepared to repel an assault upon the town.

The Rising
Sun

Such a state of affairs could not long continue. As the weeks went by and the prospects for reconciliation became more and more remote, discussions became more and more frequent and men began to see clearly. Early

in October, Franklin wrote to David Hartley: "I am persuaded that the body of the British people are our friends; but they are changeable, and by your lying gazettes may soon be made your enemies. Our respect for them will proportionately diminish, and I see clearly we are on the high road to mutual family hatred and detestation. A separation will of course be inevitable."

In the same month, General Greene declared that the alternative was separation from Great Britain or subjugation to her. By the beginning of November, congress had heard of the king's contemptuous rejection of the second petition, of the royal proclamation of rebellion, of the hired Hanoverians, and the burning of Falmouth. The effect of these things on the continental congress has been recorded in an earlier chapter. Expressions in favor of independence became more and more frequent.

"The die is cast," says a letter from Rhode Island. November 27

"The union of the Colonies with Britain is at an end."

Thomas Jefferson wrote to John Randolph: "Believe me, dear Sir, there is not in the British empire a man who more cordially loves a union with Great Britain than I do. But by the God that made me, I will cease to exist before I yield to a connection on such terms as the British Parliament proposes; and in this I think I speak the sentiments of America. We want neither inducement nor power to declare and assert a separation. It is will alone, which is wanting, and that is growing apace under the fostering hand of our King."

Nevertheless, official action in favor of independence was delayed. In England, this hesitation looked like vacillation, and the ministry was encouraged in the belief that the Americans were not united in their opposition and that they would not continue the contest with the mother country when they were once convinced that the imperial power would be exerted to any extent that might be necessary. In his speech from the throne, the king followed up his August proclamation by declaring that the war in the colonies was "manifestly carried on for the establishment of an American empire," announcing

*The Speech
from the
Throne*

October 26



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that he had strengthened the army, increased the navy, 1 7 7 5
 "received the most friendly offers of foreign assistance,"
 and proposing pardon for such of "the unhappy and
 deluded multitude" as might be reclaimed by a display
 of arms. The opposition members quoted the Ameri-
 can leaders against the charge of aiming at independence,
 but Conway significantly said that they would undoubt-
 edly prefer independence to slavery. By large majorities,
 however, parliament voted addresses to the king approv-
 ing rigorous means for suppressing the rebellion and
 commending the benevolent design of pardon.

About this time, important changes were made in the
 cabinet. Lord Dartmouth, the head of the American
 department, gave way to one of the "king's friends" and
 favorites, Lord George Germain, who
 had been cashiered
 from the army for
 cowardice at Minden.
 He seems to have
 been saturated with a
 spirit of hostility to
 popular rights and was
 an ardent hater of
 American ideas. He
 did not need to use
 any management to
 secure parliamentary
 majorities or popular
 support, but his ap-
 pointment served to
 widen a breach that
 was already yawning.
 Samuel Adams could
 have had no better
 ally.

A New
 Colonial
 Secretary
 November 10



Geo. Germain

In January, 1776,
 a pamphlet was published at Philadelphia under the title
 of *Common Sense*. Its author was an Englishman who

"Common
 Sense"

1776 had been in the colonies only about a year. It had a powerful influence in convincing Americans that a complete and irrevocable separation could be the only logical outcome of their struggle. Professor Van Tyne calls it "a firebrand which set aflame the ready political material in America."

The Builder

Thomas Paine's was a strangely checkered career. He had been brought up "in the faith of George Fox and William Penn, the only school in England where he



Thomas Paine

could have learned the principles he was now to assert." As stay-maker, privateer, excise officer, grocer, usher, teacher, and poet, he had not been particularly successful, and he was pitifully poor. But he possessed an active brain and had made the most of his opportunities for cultivating it. Perhaps no writer ever had a greater influence upon the events of his own time than he. Despite his great service to liberty, he lived to be hooted by an American mob. The chief reason for his loss of popularity was a religious work, *The Age of Reason*. For that, he has been pilloried by the public and villified by the sons of patriot sires who lighted their tapers at his torch. Vain, egotistical, eccentric, and possessed of other unlovely traits, he "had genius in his eyes" and America still stands deeply his debtor.

The Building

Paine brought with him to America a letter from Benjamin Franklin, and soon became a contributor to *The Pennsylvania Magazine* and then its editor. He quickly threw himself into the patriot cause, which was, he said,

his great service to liberty.

"in a great measure the cause of all mankind." At Franklin's suggestion, he began his essay on the desirability of independence. Though "shallow in scholarship," he was "deep in sympathy," and he had the art of striking off phrases that stuck in men's memories. His manuscript was published in a pamphlet of forty-four pages, "addressed to the inhabitants of America." It was announced as "written by an Englishman," but many thought that it was Franklin's work.

The paper was divided into four parts under the headings: "Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution;" "Of Monarchy and hereditary succession;" "Thoughts on the present state of American Affairs;" and "Of the present ability of America, with some miscellaneous reflections." Of these, the last two were the most important. The following extracts will give an idea of the temper of the production:

Exempli
Gratia

The period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the King, and the Continent hath accepted the challenge.

The sun never shined on a cause of greater worth. It is not the affair of a City, a County, a Province, or a Kingdom, but of a Continent—of at least one-eighth part of the habitable globe. It is not the concern of a day, a year, or an age, posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now.

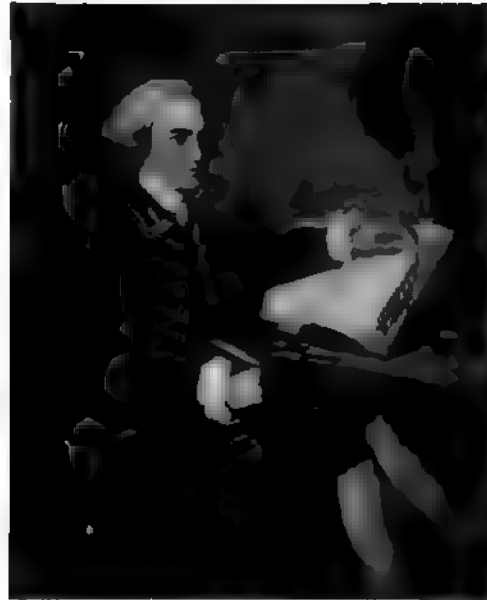
By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new era for politics is struck, a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c., prior to the 19th of April, i. e. to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacks of the last year, which, though proper then, are superseded and useless now.

Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor Savages make war upon their families. . . . *Europe*, and not *England*, is the parent country of *America*. This New World hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from every part of *Europe*. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of *England*, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home pursues their descendants still.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation to show a single advantage that this Continent can reap, by being connected with *Great Britain*. . . . Everything that is right or reasonable pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of Nature cries, 'Tis time to part. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed *England* and *America* is a strong and natural proof that the authority of the one over the other was never the design of Heaven.

A Government of our own is our natural right. . . . O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth! Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. *Asia* and *Africa* have long expelled her. *Europe* regards her like a stranger, and *England* hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

1776
Its Effect



John Hancock

The influence of the pamphlet can scarcely be overestimated. "Never," says Frothingham, "was a political appeal more generally welcomed or more cordially endorsed." Edition after edition was published. "May the independent principles of 'Common Sense' be confirmed throughout the United Colonies," became a

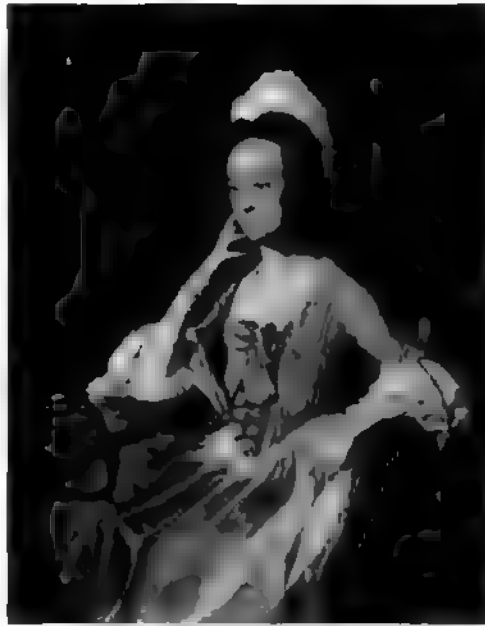
favorite toast throughout the country. "A pamphlet entitled 'Common Sense' has converted thousands to independence that could not endure the idea before," says *Almon's Remembrancer*. "If you know the author of 'Common Sense,' tell him he has done wonders and worked miracles, made Tories Whigs, and washed blackamoors white," wrote a Marylander to the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*. "A few more such flaming arguments as were exhibited at Falmouth and Norfolk, added to the sound doctrine and unanswerable reasoning contained in the pamphlet 'Common Sense,' will not leave numbers at a loss to decide upon the propriety of separation," wrote George Washington.

February 13

The Other
Side

Naturally, Paine's *Common Sense* stirred up to reply those opposed to separation. "Cæsar," "Candidus," "Salus Populi," "Cato," "Tiberius," "Cassandra," "Rationalis," et al., flooded the country with pamphlets and filled the newspapers with articles for and against independence. Some of the reasons given for maintain-

ing the connection with England were by no means weak. Were the colonists at all certain of being able to establish a stable government of their own? Might not anarchy break out or colonial jealousies lead to civil war? Might not tyrants arise? Was it not possible that the colonies might escape from England only to fall a prey to France or Spain? Nor were these dangers wholly imaginary, as was demonstrated within a dozen years.



Dorothy Quincy (Mrs. John Hancock)

1776

By others it was strongly urged that expediency demanded that the independence that existed in fact should exist in name also. To profess allegiance to a king and at the same time to wage war against him was an anomaly that could not be long continued. The war could never be successfully ended without foreign aid, and such assistance could not be obtained so long as the colonists avowed subordination to England. Neither France nor any other European power would form an alliance with rebels who might at any time adjust their quarrel and leave their friends to fight out the war alone. Mediation or foreign alliances must be preceded by a declaration of independence.

The Demand
of Expediency

One of the arguments most frequently used by those desiring such a declaration was that the material wealth and power of the colonies would be enormously increased

Iridescent
Dreams

1776 by their independence. Bright prophecies, foretelling in glowing terms the trade that would spring up and the increase in population that would result from separation, were indulged in by some writers. The people of that day looked upon these prophecies as glittering fancies, veritable Utopian predictions; we smile as we realize how far their wildest dreams fell short of the reality.

The Leaders Nevertheless, separation was not to come without a struggle. In some parts of the country there was a reaction against the war, while many of the staunchest patriots like James Wilson, John Dickinson, Edward Rutledge, Robert Morris, John Jay, and the Livingstons were not convinced of the wisdom of immediate separation. Opposition was especially strong at Philadelphia where many, either because they were Quakers and believed in non-resistance or because they were merchants and ship-owners and thus financial losers by the war, were opposed to anything that would tend to prolong the conflict. Working for independence, however, were such men as John and Samuel Adams and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts; Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island; Benjamin Rush and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania; Samuel Chase of Maryland; Christo-

pher Gadsden of South Carolina; and Richard Henry Lee, Patrick Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and George Washington of Virginia.



The Signs of the Times

Currency issued by Continental Congress (One-third dollar, showing both sides)

Various acts of congress, such as inviting Canada to join the union, ordering that the Tories be disarmed, authorizing the equipment of privateers, opening American ports to all countries not

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

subject to the king of Great Britain, and negotiating with foreign powers, gave signs of the impending change; but it was evident that the final step would not be taken until it was authorized by constituents at home. On the ninth of March, "A Lover of Order" proposed through the newspapers that the people should be asked to declare their sentiments regarding separation through their local organizations, while, soon after, members of congress from several of the colonies requested their assemblies to express themselves on the subject.

To North Carolina belongs the honor of first directly empowering her delegates to vote for independence, though the Georgia provincial congress had a week previously authorized its delegates to join in all measures that they might think calculated for the common good. Following the defeat of the North Carolina loyalists at Moore's Creek Bridge, patriotic spirit ran high, a large military force was raised, and when the next provincial congress met at Halifax, the members were "all up for independence." The subject was referred to a committee that reported in favor of empowering its delegates in congress "to concur with the Delegates in the other colonies in declaring Independency and forming foreign alliances,—reserving to this Colony the sole and exclusive right of forming a Constitution and Laws for this Colony." On the twelfth of April, this report was unanimously adopted.

On the fourth of May, Rhode Island followed the example of North Carolina, though the assembly's instructions were so vague that Governor Cooke advised the delegates that by them they were to know that they had power to vote for independence. On the tenth of the same month, the Massachusetts house of representa-

North Carolina takes the Lead



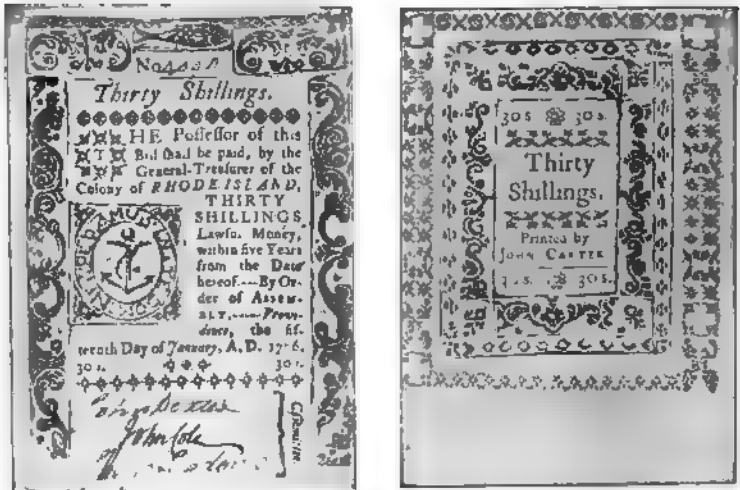
North Carolina Currency, Issue of April 2, 1776

April 5

April 4

Rhode Island and Massachusetts

1776 tives called upon the people of the colony to assemble in town-meetings and vote upon the question of whether



Rhode Island Currency, Issue of January 15, 1776

they would support a declaration of independence should the congress adopt such a measure. The answer was practically a unanimous affirmative. In their town-meetings, the citizens declared that they would defend such a measure with their lives and the remnant of their fortunes.

The
Resolution of
the Fifteenth
of May
May 6

On the eighteenth of April, 1776, John Adams wrote: "The passions were never in more lively exercise than they now are from Florida to Canada inclusive." In the continental congress, he introduced a resolution recommending all the colonies to form local governments based on the power of the people. Four days later, it was adopted and a committee appointed to draw up a preamble to go with it. The preamble, prepared by John Adams, was adopted on the fifteenth and printed with the resolution on the sixteenth as follows:

IN CONGRESS, MAY 15, 1776

Whereas his Britannic Majesty, in conjunction with the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, has, by a late Act of Parliament, excluded the inhabitants of these United Colonies from the protection of his Crown: And whereas no answer whatever, to the humble petitions of the colonies for redress of grievances and reconciliation with Great Britain, has

been, or is likely to be, given; but the whole force of that Kingdom, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these Colonies: And whereas it appears absolutely irreconcilable to reason and good conscience for the people of these Colonies now to take the oaths and affirmations necessary for the support of any Government under the Crown of Great Britain, and it is necessary that the exercise of every kind of authority under the said Crown should be totally suppressed, and all the powers of Government exerted under the authority of the people of the Colonies for the preservation of internal peace, virtue, and good order, as well as for the defence of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions, and cruel depredations of their enemies: Therefore

Resolved, That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs has been hitherto established, to adopt such Government as shall, in the opinion of the Representatives of the People, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general.

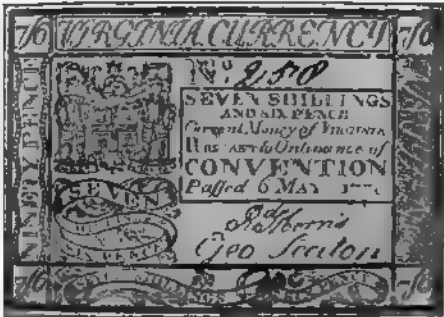
By order of Congress:

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

In Virginia, Governor Dunmore had been fulminating proclamations from his "floating capitol," threatening servile insurrections and savage warfare. The militia had won their victory at Great Bridge and Norfolk had been burned. An intercepted dispatch from Lord Germain made known the intent of the ministry to carry the war into the Old Dominion. In March, the idea of independence was said to be alarming; in April, the freeholders were instructing their delegates "immediately to cast off the British yoke; and as King George persists in behaving like a tyrant, that they, in their own behalf, renounce allegiance to him forever." The Virginia convention met at Williamsburg on the sixth of May and soon declared that there was no alternative but absolute subjection or total separation and instructed the Virginia delegates in congress "to propose to that respectable body to declare the United Colonies free and independent states." That evening, in the general enthusiasm evoked by this official action, bells were rung and salutes fired; the British flag was hauled down from above the state-house and replaced by "the Union

1776

Virginia's
Action



Virginia Currency, Issue of May 6, 1776

May 15

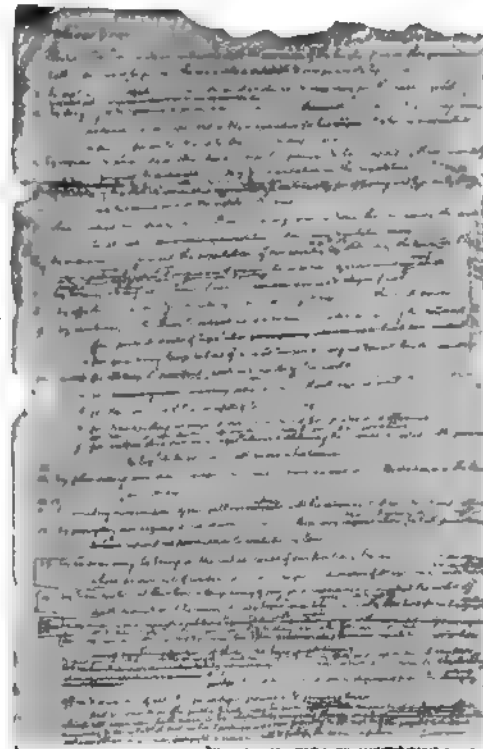
1776 Flag of the American States." In June, the convention adopted a new state constitution and a declaration of rights that was, in many ways, similar to the coming declaration of independence. Virginia's bold action was in brilliant contrast to the action of the middle colonies and had a marked effect on the final issue of the contest.

Lee's
Resolutions

In the continental congress, on the seventh of June, in obedience to these instructions and on behalf of the Virginia delegates, Richard



Richard Henry Lee



Page of a Manuscript Draft of a Constitution for Virginia, drawn up by Jefferson in 1776

Henry Lee moved the following fateful resolutions:

That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved

That it is expedient forthwith to take the most effectual measures for forming foreign Alliances.

That a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation

John Adams seconded the resolutions, but action was postponed

until the next day (Saturday), and then again until Monday, the tenth. At this time, armed loyalists were rising in New York, New Jersey, and Delaware; Carleton and Burgoyne were driving the continental army out of Canada; a powerful land and naval force was moving on New York; and Clinton was on his way to Charles Town with Sir Peter Parker and his fleet. On Monday, further postponement of the first resolution was inevitable, for only four delegations had received instructions that could be construed into power to vote for independence, while other delegations had been positively prohibited from taking such action. "It appearing in the course of the debates," says Jefferson, "that the colonies of N. York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1st." But, in order that no time should be lost, a committee was appointed on the next day "to prepare a declaration in conformity to it." This committee was composed of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

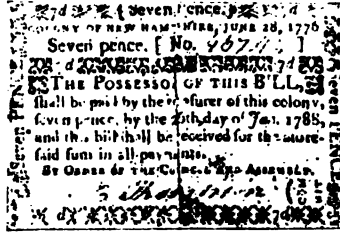
1776
A Great
Committee

June 11

At the request of the other members of the committee, the task of writing the declaration was undertaken by Jefferson. Though one of the three youngest men in the congress, no fitter agent could have been selected. Born a member of the Virginia aristocracy, he was then and ever a thorough democrat with an abiding faith in the people. He had been educated at the College of William and Mary, had studied law in the office of George Wythe, and was a student of literature, science, and philosophy. Though of ungainly physique, his face was intelligent and pleasant, his manners elegant, and his conversation fascinating. Throughout his career, he was persistently loyal to the principle of equal and exact justice for all men. So far did he carry his doctrine of equality that his enemies called him "a dreamer," and pronounced him "visionary," and "unsound." Although

Thomas
Jefferson

ence. The radicals were greatly aided in their work by the arrival of authentic news that the king had obtained large numbers of German mercenaries to aid in crushing the rebellious colonies. On the fourteenth of June, Connecticut and, on the fifteenth, New Hampshire instructed their delegates in favor of independence. New Hampshire even went so far as to pronounce herself "free and independent of the crown." In these two colonies, the act was purely formal, but in some other colonies the contest was more serious.



New Hampshire Currency, Issue of
June 28, 1776

1 7 7 6
Connecticut
and New
Hampshire

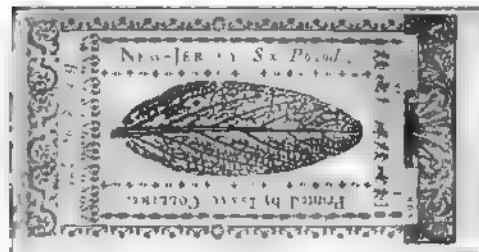
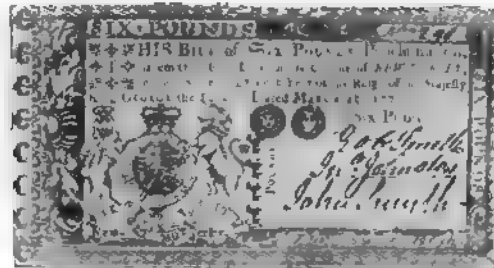
In New York, there was great danger from without and bitter strife within. The provincial congress decided to refer the question of forming a new government, in accordance with the congressional resolution of the fifteenth of May, to the people for decision and ordered an election for a new congress to meet not later than the second Monday in July. For weary weeks, the New York delegates at Philadelphia vainly begged for instructions on the great question. On the eleventh of June, the provincial congress sent the chilling message that they were not authorized to vote for independence and that, as measures had been taken to establish regular government, "it would be imprudent to require the sentiments of the people relative to the question of Independence, lest it should create division, and have an unhappy influence on the other."

In New Jersey, Governor Franklin convoked the prorogued assembly, but the provincial congress voted that the proclamation was in contempt and violation of the resolve of congress of the fifteenth of May and "ought not to be obeyed." The provincial congress confined the governor to his house and referred the case to the continental congress. That body directed that he be sent a prisoner to Connecticut where "he would be cap-

New York

New Jersey

1776



Pennsylvania

New Jersey Currency, Issue of March 25, 1776

able of doing less mischief than in New Jersey." On the twenty-second of June, a new set of New Jersey delegates to congress was chosen, "all independent souls," and authorized to join others in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain. Nowhere was there more heat than in Pennsylvania where the proprietary party was in combination with Quakers and Tories and all were active in opposition to the revolutionary movement. Five days after the adoption of the resolution of the fifteenth of May, a great public meeting was held in the state-house yard. The resolution of congress and the assembly's loyalist instructions to the delegates were read. The resolution was received with cheers and the instructions were unanimously declared to have a "dangerous tendency to withdraw this Province from that happy union with the other Colonies, which we consider both our glory and protection." This great demonstration stirred the people of the province, and the assembly yielded to the popular demand. On the eighth of June, the delegates were authorized to concur in further compacts between the colonies and in measures promoting the interests and safety of America. The irresolution of the assembly on this and other matters caused great dissatisfaction. The Philadelphia committee called upon the commissioners of the several counties to send deputies to arrange for a convention for the purpose of establishing a new

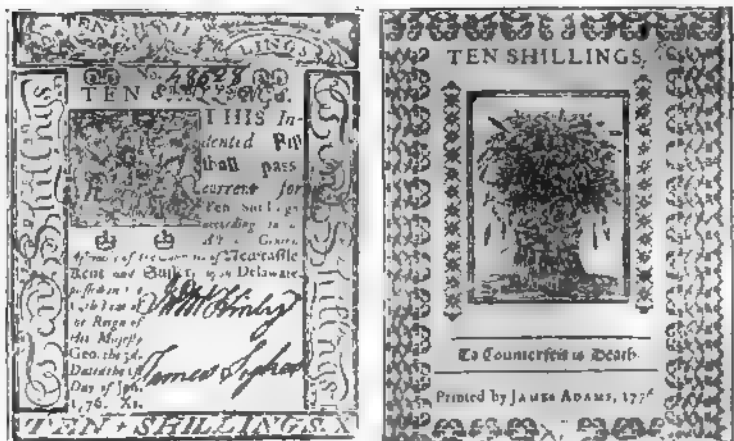
able of doing less mischief than in New Jersey." On the twenty-second of June, a new set of New Jersey delegates to congress was chosen, "all independent souls," and authorized to join others in declaring the United Colonies independent of Great Britain.

Nowhere was there more heat than in Pennsylvania

May 20

government on the authority of the people only. On 1776 the eighteenth of June, the conference was held at Carpenters' Hall; on the twenty-fourth, it called a convention and expressed a determination to concur in a declaration of independence.

On the fourteenth of June, the Delaware assembly Delaware authorized their delegates to concur with the other delegates in forming such compacts between the united colo-



Delaware Currency, Issue of January 1, 1776

nies and adopting such other measures as should be judged necessary to promote the liberty of America. On the next day, it continued in office all who had exercised authority in the name of the king, "until a new Government shall be formed, agreeable to the Resolution of Congress of the fifteenth of May last."

The independence and actual supremacy of the Maryland Maryland convention were noted in an earlier chapter. On the twenty-eighth of April, Governor Eden wrote to his brother: "You need be under no concern about me. I am well supported and not obnoxious to any unless it be some of your infernal independents, who are in league with the Bostonians." A month later, the provincial May 21 government renewed its instructions against independence and resolved not to establish a government on authority of the people, as recommended by the congressional

1776 resolution of the fifteenth of May. Richard Henry Lee wrote that "the proprietary colonies do certainly obstruct and perplex the American machine."



Coat of Arms of Charles Carroll
of Carrollton

Charles Carroll and Samuel Chase, who had just returned from Canada, and other popular leaders urged the convention "to take the sense of the people." The other colonies were impatient for Maryland to act, but the convention felt that it had not been empowered to declare for independence. It therefore called back its deputies from Philadelphia and appealed directly to the freemen of Maryland. The result of the meetings held in the counties was much like that of the Massachusetts towns and, on the twenty-first of June, the

convention assembled at Annapolis; on the twenty-fourth, Eden, by the advice of the convention and as already related, boarded a British man-of-war; on the twenty-eighth, on motion of Charles Carroll, the convention rescinded its instructions against independence and authorized its deputies in the continental congress to vote for the declaration. On the third of July, the convention put on record "A Declaration of the Delegates of Maryland" in which they affirmed that "the King of Great Britain has violated his compact with this people, and they owe no allegiance to him."

South
Carolina

On the twenty-third of March, the provincial congress of South Carolina gave its delegates to the continental congress power to agree to any measure that should be judged "necessary for the defence, security, interest, or welfare of this colony in particular and of America in general." But as the idea of independence was negatived in the preamble to the constitution that was reported on the following day, the instructions could hardly be construed as authorizing the delegates to commit the colony to a declaration of independence. "There can be little

doubt," says McCrady, "that the sense of the province 1 7 7 6
was opposed to any such action."

Meanwhile, the general congress had adopted several measures that presupposed independence. On the eleventh of June, in line with Lee's third resolution, it was voted that a committee be appointed "to prepare and digest the form of a Confederation to be entered into between these Colonies." This committee was composed of one delegate from each colony and included Samuel Adams, Stephen Hopkins, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, John Dickinson, and Edward Rutledge. On the twelfth, another committee, consisting of Dickinson, John Adams, Franklin, Harrison, and Robert Morris, was chosen "to prepare a plan of treaties to be proposed to Foreign Powers." Twelve days later, congress "Resolved, That all persons abiding within any of the United Colonies, and deriving protection from the laws of the same, owe allegiance to the said laws, and are members of such Colony," and that all such persons "who shall levy war against any of the said Colonies, or be adherent to the King of Great Britain, or others the enemies of the said Colonies, or any of them, within the same, giving him or them aid and comfort, are guilty of treason against such colony."

Moving
Forward

24

The first of July was the day set for the consideration of the great question. After some preliminary business, congress resolved itself into a committee of the whole "to take into consideration the Resolution respecting Independency." After Benjamin Harrison had taken the chair, the new delegates from New Jersey asked to hear the subject discussed. "All was silence," says John Adams; "no one would speak; all eyes were turned upon me. Mr. Edward Rutledge came to me and said, laughing, 'Nobody will speak but you on this subject. You have all the topics so ready, that you must satisfy the gentlemen from New Jersey.'" Others also insisted that he "must recapitulate the arguments." Somewhat embarrassed, Adams began what he later described as his not "very bright exordium," and then settled down to

Our Colossus
on the Floor

1 7 7 6 "simple reason and plain common sense." As we have no report of his speech, we cannot tell what he said, but he seems to have spoken effectively. Jefferson later described him as "our Colossus on the floor" and says that "he was not graceful, nor elegant, nor remarkably fluent, but he came out occasionally with a power of thought and expression that moved us from our seats."

Dickinson
in Reply

Dickinson replied to Adams. According to his own report of his speech, written more than six years later, Dickinson did not oppose the principle, but thought the time for independence had not come. The declaration would not strengthen the colonies by one man while it might expose their soldiers to additional cruelties and outrages. When the outcome of the war was so uncertain, the country ought not to be committed to an alternative to recede from which would be infamy and to persist in which might be destruction. Foreign aid could be obtained only by successes in the field, and before such an irrevocable step was taken the disposition of the great powers ought to be ascertained. The formation of a stable government and an agreement upon the terms of confederation ought to precede the assumption of a place among the nations.

The
Resolution of
Independence

After Adams had replied and others had spoken, a vote was taken upon Lee's first resolution. Nine colonies voted for it and Pennsylvania and South Carolina against it. The New York delegates declared themselves in favor of the step, but, as their instructions did not empower them to vote for it, they were excused from voting. Only two delegates, McKean and Read, were present from Delaware, and, as McKean was for and Read against the measure, the vote of that colony was not cast. After the rising of the committee, and at the request of Edward Rutledge who held out the hope that South Carolina would then join in the measure for the sake of unanimity, it was decided to postpone the final vote until the following day.

A Dramatic
Climax

In the short interval, there were important changes. Wilson of Pennsylvania decided to support the measure,

while Dickinson and Morris stayed away from the session; 1 7 7 6 thus a majority of the attending delegates of the Quaker colony were for independence. The South Carolina delegation decided, after much hesitation, to vote for the measure and to trust to their constituents for approval of their action. Meanwhile, McKean had sent an express rider for Rodney, another of the Delaware delegates. McKean's messenger found Rodney at Dover, eighty miles away; but, riding post-haste, Rodney reached Philadelphia and, in his riding boots, was brought by McKean into congress just before the vote was taken.

The Congress is met; the debate's begun,
And Liberty lags for the vote of one —
When into the Hall, not a moment late,
Walks Caesar Rodney, the Delegate.



Caesar Rodney Monument at
Dover, Delaware

When and
How

Thus, when the all-important vote was taken on the second of July, all the colonies except New York, the delegates of which still refrained from voting, voted for the resolution; so far as we know, only three delegates voted against it, Humphreys and Willing of Pennsylvania who, in the convenient absence of Dickinson and Morris, were outvoted by Franklin, Morton, and Wilson; and Read of Delaware who was outvoted by McKean and Rodney. The American colonies were now definitely separated from the British Empire. Logically, our celebration of the "Fourth of July" is two days tardy. That the participants in the work regarded the second as the day of separation is borne out by the fact that, on the third, John Adams wrote to his wife:

Yesterday, the greatest Question was decided which ever was debated in America, and a greater perhaps never was nor will be decided among Men. . . . But the day is past — the second Day of July, 1776, will be the most memorable Epoca in the History of America. — I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary Festival. It ought to be commemorated as the Day of Deliverance, by solemn Acts of Devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with Pomp and

I 7 7 6 Parade, with Shows, Games, Sports, Guns, Bells, Bonfires, and Illuminations, from one End of this Continent to the other, from this time forward, forever more.

Considering
Jefferson's
Declaration

On the same day, congress, in committee of the whole, took up Jefferson's declaration and continued its consideration on the third and fourth. There were some "acrimonious criticisms" under which the author writhed in silence. A number of changes were made, the chief of which are thus described by Jefferson: "The pusillanimous idea that we had friends in England worth making terms with, still haunted the minds of many. For this reason those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. The clause, too, reprobating the enslaving the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves, and who on the contrary still wished to continue it. Our northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender under these censures; for tho' their people had very few slaves themselves, yet they had been pretty considerable carriers of them to others." Most of the changes were slight and verbal and added to the terseness and precision of the declaration.

The Adoption
of the
Declaration

The debate was continued until the afternoon of the fourth; according to a story that Jefferson later loved to tell, it might have run on indefinitely at any other season of the year. "But the weather was oppressively warm and the room occupied by the deputies was hard by a stable, whence the hungry flies swarmed thick and fierce, alighting on the legs of the delegates and biting hard through their thin silk stockings. Treason was preferable to discomfort," and the delegates finally accepted the declaration before it had been discussed by all of those who wished to speak upon it. Then the committee of the whole arose and Harrison reported the declaration back to congress. The declaration was read again and received the final sanction of the delegates of twelve states "as the justification of the act that established a new nation among the powers of the World." On the following day, attested copies were sent to several assem-

W 1824 in the Courts of American Rivers. It instructs no ^{other} ~~other~~ the one People to divide the Political Goods which have descended from
with another and to advance among the former the Slave, the Oppressed and equal Success to which the waters of Nature and of
Nature's God invite them, a direct Refusal to the Principles of Universal Justice that the should declare the rights which upon them
to all a Separation

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.
 ASSISTANT SECRETARY,
 CHARLES THOMSON.

Issued by Order and signed in Presence of the Commander.

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

ASSIST
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY

Figure 1. The structure of the proposed system.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, AS IT WAS FIRST PRINTED FOR
GENERAL DISTRIBUTION

1776 blies and, on the sixth, the document was printed in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*.

Signing the Declaration

Contrary to the generally received opinion, the document was not signed at this time excepting possibly by the president and the secretary of the congress. On the nineteenth, four days after it was known by the congress



Table and Chair used at the Signing of the Declaration of Independence

that New York had assented to the measure, it was ordered that the document should be "fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America;' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of the Congress." Most of the members, but not all, appended their signatures on the second of August; according to some accounts, McKean of Delaware did not sign until 1781. In the interval between the adoption of the declaration and its signing, the membership of congress changed; consequently, the "Signers" were not quite identical with the delegates who declared independence. Seven who signed, Thornton, Williams, Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor, and Ross, were not members on the fourth of July; seven who were members at that time, Clinton, Alsop, Robert R. Liv-



"THE CONGRESS VOTING INDEPENDENCE"

Close facsimile of original painting in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Painted by Robert Edge Pine, but unfinished at his death in 1788 and completed by Edward Savage. This picture was painted in the very room in which the event commemorated was enacted. Trumbull's famous "Declaration of Independence" was undoubtedly based to some extent upon it, though in the matter of the architecture of the room, Trumbull departs from his model.

1776 ingston, Wisner, Willing, Humphreys, and Rogers, did not sign. It is clear that, in the minds of the delegates, the act of signing did not have the importance that it has since attained. "The unanimous adoption of the Declaration was the important event, the signing a mere final touch, an after-thought." The names of the signers were withheld by congress for more than six months. "It was only common prudence, for this overt act of treason, if not made good, might bring the signers to the gallows. Congress was always aware of its danger and, besides sitting with closed doors, withheld even from its secret journals some of its most important proceedings."

Iconoclasm

Another popular error is that there was any considerable immediate rejoicing or frantic outburst of enthusiasm

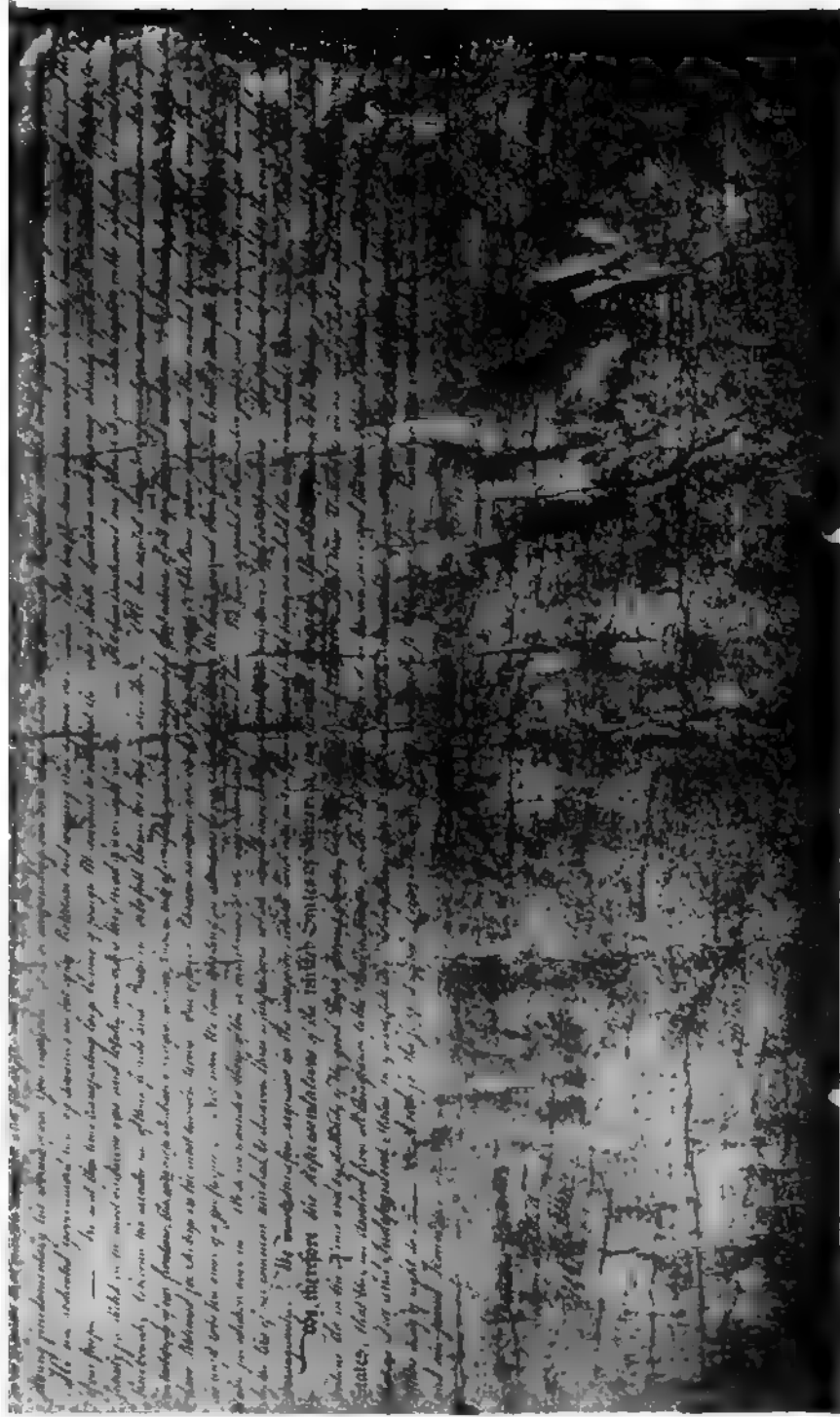


The "Liberty Bell"

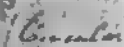
in Philadelphia over the adoption of the declaration. As a matter of history, there was no marked demonstration until noon, the eighth of July, when, in the state-house yard, the declaration was read to an assemblage composed of members of the continental and provincial congresses, militia, and citizens. Not until then was the "so-called Liberty Bell" rung and, by that time, bells were being rung in dozens of other towns and villages. "There is," says Friedenwald, "no shadow of au-

thority for associating the ringing of the bell with the announcement of the agreement upon independence."

As couriers, by order of congress, scattered copies of the declaration over the country, many received the tid-



THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1893)
The original parchment, now badly cracked and faded, is preserved in the Department of State, Washington



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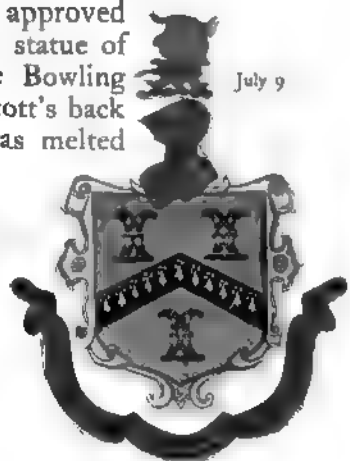
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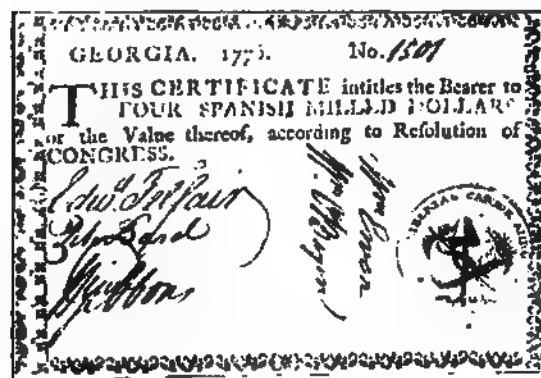
HANCOCK'S 1

ings with thankful prayer and enthusiastic demonstration. They rested from their daily toil and gathered, as on gala-days, in church and on village green, before state-houses and at city halls. There were parades with roll of drum and roar of cannon, bonfires, feasts, and toasts. Emblems of royalty were thrown down and burned or buried. In New York, the declaration was formally approved by the new convention, and the leaden statue of George III. was thrown down in the Bowling Green. It is said that in Oliver Wolcott's back garden at Litchfield, Connecticut, it was melted into bullets to be sent "straight to the hearts of King George's troops." On the ninth of July, Washington, then at New York, issued a general order that the declaration be read to each brigade at six o'clock and copies thereof freely distributed. On the same day, he wrote to General Ward to "cause this Declaration to be immediately proclaimed at the head of the Continental regiments in the Massachusetts Bay." On the tenth, he wrote to the president of congress that the declaration had been proclaimed before all the army under his immediate command and "that the measure seemed to have their most hearty assent; the expressions and behavior, both of officers and men testifying their warmest approbation of it"—a characteristically conservative description of the wild plaudits of the army. Samuel Adams wrote: "The

1776
How the
Declaration
was Received



Coat of Arms of Oliver Wolcott



Georgia Currency, Issue of 1776

1776 people, I am told, recognize the resolution as though it was a decree from Heaven." So tardy were the means of communication that the declaration was not known at Savannah until the tenth of August when it was read "amid the acclamations of the congregated citizens." In the evening, the town was illuminated and his majesty, King George III., was interred in effigy with all solemnity. The joy, was, however, by no means universal; even good Whigs "trembled at the thought of separation from Great Britain" and some conservatives who had favored resistance went over to the loyalist party. The Tories denounced the measure with vehemence, of course, and one of their rhymesters wrote:

May congress, conventions, those damn'd inquiries,
Be fed with hot sulphur from Lucifer's kitchens.

Tomorrow

In spite of some indefensible political philosophy and some impracticable ideas, the "self-evident" truths of the declaration united the patriots in pursuit of a definite aim and made a backward step impossible. The English historian, Buckle, says that a copy of it "ought to be hung up in the nursery of every king and blazoned on the porch of every royal palace." But long years of toil and bloodshed were to elapse before it could be made good. England had been girding up her loins, and the year that had witnessed the birth of the new nation was to see it tottering upon the brink of ruin.





A P P E N D I C E S

THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS—DECLARATION OF RIGHTS
AND GRIEVANCES, ADOPTED OCTOBER 19, 1765

(See page 63)

THE members of this Congress, sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to his Majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this continent; having considered as maturely as time will permit, the circumstances of the said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion, respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labour, by reason of several late acts of parliament.

I. That his Majesty's subjects in these colonies, owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body the parliament of Great-Britain.

II. That his Majesty's liege subjects in these colonies, are intitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects, within the kingdom of Great-Britain.

III. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Englishmen, that no Taxes be imposed on them but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.

IV. That the people of these colonies are not, and, from their local circumstances, cannot be, represented in the House of Commons in Great-Britain.

V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

VI. That all supplies to the crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great-Britain to grant to his Majesty the property of the colonists.

VII. That trial by jury, is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies.

VIII. That the late act of parliament, entitled, *An act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties, in the British colonies and plantations in America, etc.*, by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

IX. That the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burthensome and grievous; and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

X. That as the profits of the trade of these colonies ultimately center in Great-Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the crown.

XI. That the restrictions imposed by several late acts of parliament on the trade of these colonies, will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great-Britain.

XII. That the increase, prosperity and happiness of these colonies, depend on the full and free enjoyments of

their rights and liberties, and an intercourse with Great-Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.

XIII. That it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies to petition the king, or either house of parliament.

Lastly, That it is the indispensable duty of these colonies, to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful address to his Majesty, and humble application to both houses of parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of American commerce.

THE VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS, ADOPTED

MAY 16, 1769

(See page 101)

RESOLVED, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the sole Right of imposing Taxes on the Inhabitants of this his Majesty's Colony and Dominion of Virginia is now, and ever hath been, legally and constitutionally vested in the House of Burgesses, lawfully convened according to the ancient and established Practice, with the Consent of the Council, and of his Majesty the King of Great-Britain, or his Governor for the Time being.

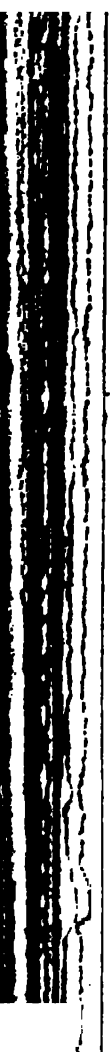
Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that it is the undoubted Privilege of the Inhabitants of this Colony, to petition their Sovereign for Redress of Grievances; and that it is lawful and expedient to procure the Concurrence of his Majesty's other Colonies in dutiful Addresses, praying the royal Interposition in Favour of the Violated Rights of America.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that all Trials for Treason, Misprision of Treason, or for any Felony of Crime whatsoever committed and done in this his Majesty's said Colony and Dominion by any Person or Persons residing therein, ought of right to be held and conducted in and before his Majesty's Courts held within his said Colony, according to the fixed and known Course of Proceeding; and that the seizing of any Person or Persons residing in this Colony, suspected of any Crime whatsoever committed therein, and sending such Person or Persons to Places beyond the Sea to be tried, is highly derogatory of the Rights of British Subjects, as thereby the inestimable Privilege of being tried by a Jury from the Vicinage, as well as the Liberty of summoning and producing Witnesses on such Trial, will be taken away from the Party accused.

Resolved, That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that an humble, dutiful, and loyal Address be presented to his Majesty, to assure him of our inviolable Attach-

ment to his sacred Person and Government, and to beseech his royal Interposition, as the Father of all his People, however remote from the Seat of his Empire, to quiet the Minds of his loyal Subjects of this Colony, and to avert from them those Dangers and Miseries which will ensue from the seizing and carrying beyond Sea any Person residing in America, suspected of any Crime whatsoever, to be tried in any other Manner than by the ancient and long established Course of Proceedings.







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THE following lists are intended to be helpful to the student of this volume by way of suggestion for supplementary reading; they are not offered as complete lists of works consulted by the author. Helpful suggestions are contained in the paragraph introductory to the bibliographical appendix to the first volume of this work. Valuable side-lights on many of the topics herein considered may be found in other general histories of the United States, such as Bancroft's, Hildreth's, etc., some of which are cited in the appendix to the first volume. As the reader can easily find what he wants by reference to the indexes of those works, the following lists omit such references. The general arrangement of this bibliography is similar to that used in the preceding volumes.

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